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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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■ Keynote address delivered at the 52nd annual convention of the NAACP, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Freedom— the New Frontier

By Stephen Gill Spottswood

ALL Americans, regardless of party affiliation, were challenged by the suggestion of President Kennedy, in his acceptance speech in Los Angeles last July, that we would advance upon new frontiers. Having overcome the geographical frontiers of much of this continent, it was logical to suggest that the civic, economic, educational, health and social problems of the mid-twentieth century constituted new frontiers for courageous and resourceful Americans to overcome.

Tonight I wish to submit that among the frontiers yet remaining is one that continues to challenge all America and the rest of the world. Freedom is the old and the ever-new frontier! We cannot advance to the idealistic possibilities and the realistic necessities of the democracy conceived in the Constitution and Bill of Rights until we have climbed the mountains, bridged the rivers and carved roads through the wilderness of our American life to reach the goal of full freedom for all our citizens.

Fifty-two years ago the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chose to pioneer through the maelstrom of our discriminatory democracy and segregated Americanism and make all our people economically free from serfdom, educationally free from segregation, and socially free from discrimination.

Twenty-one years ago we met in convention here in Philadelphia. That convention had 400 delegates from 33 states. This 1961 convention has 1,200 delegates, as of this afternoon, from 44 states.

In that year—1940—the NAACP had 50,556 members in 352 adult branches. For 1960 the total was 388,000 members in 1,425 branches, youth councils and college chapters.

Aside from our own NAACP growth, one dramatic development

THE RIGHT REVEREND STEPHEN GILL SPOTTSWOOD, chairman of the national Board of Directors of the NAACP, delivered his address on July 10 at the Tindley Temple ME Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

illustrates the changes that have been wrought in the onslaught against racial proscription. When we met in 1940, the United States Air Corps (as it was known then) was lily-white. In fact, responsible officials in the military establishment were debating soberly whether the Negro was capable of flying an airplane! On June 15 last year, an Air Force jet, the tanker version of the Boeing 707, was flown 7,175 miles non-stop from Japan to North Carolina in 12½ hours with a Negro captain from Albany, Georgia, at the controls.

Tonight we do not rely on this one incident as a measure of progress, satisfying though it is. Nor do we of the NAACP content ourselves with the history (though glorious) of the struggles of years far in the past. Sure-footed and solidly-based progress is achieved not through occasional spectacular forays, but through unrelenting and unceasing pressure on all fronts across the years, in every year.

Thus we hail not only the events of 1940, but those of the twelve months since our last convention in St. Paul. Our youth council in Durham, N. C., opening up new employment in 29 stores of that city. Our Minnesota state branches successfully sponsoring the enactment of a fair-housing law. Our student chapters at Tougaloo College and Jackson State College in Mississippi being jailed for challenging a lily-white "public" library and segregated city buses.

Our Tampa, Fla., branch adding 4,000 names to the voter list. Our Reno-Sparks, Nev., branch securing the elimination of discrimination in public places. Our Oklahoma City, Okla., youth council winning only last week [week of July 2] a four-year sit-in campaign against the city's largest department store. The splendid Lockheed Aircraft Corporation case in which our documented complaints and demands brought about an agreement between the corporation and the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunity, which will result in opening up thousands of jobs in plants over the nation which hold government contracts. The 18-month trade-withholding campaign of our Savannah, Ga., branch.

The continuing work of our Los Angeles branch on the problem of employment and roles in the films and in television. The sit-in and other demonstrations against segregation by our young people in Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Arkansas. The work of our branches in Texas, Georgia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and New York in the area of school desegregation. And the victorious climax to the long campaign of our Illinois branches for a state FEP law.

FIGHT IS ON

Despite these successes and those monumental ones of other years, we know that the fight is still on! Freedom constitutes a new frontier because it is only partially won. Perhaps its loftiness is the reason why it presents difficulties of frontier proportions. The American pioneer was forced to proceed at ox-cart pace. He literally had to carve a road out of the wilderness. He had to find passage through mountain ranges. He had to stop to build bridges when he reached the rivers. Sometimes he

LEGISLATION NOW, MR. PRESIDENT—*President Kennedy receives three top NAACP officials, part of a 1,250-man contingent that journeyed from the Association's 52nd annual convention site in Philadelphia, Pa., to the White House in Washington. From left: Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, NAACP board chairman; President Kennedy; Arthur B. Spingarn, NAACP president; and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. The NAACP "Freedom Train" riders asked for civil-rights legislation now.*

hewed logs and built boats to use the streams as a pathway in order to proceed on his journey to physical freedom and economic security.

Today we live in a *jet age*. We are not content with the slow pace of the ox-cart, the faster gait of the horse and buggy, the accelerated speed of the automobile, or even the limited flight of the DC-3. Today's six hundred-miles-per-hour travel merely presages tomorrow's missile-propelled, atomic-powered propulsion-car of the twenty-first Christian century, bridging Washington and Accra in half an hour. Therefore, we must find ways to accelerate the pace of on-coming democracy.

Our program, no longer confined to battles for separate-but-equal accommodations and facilities, advanced above any doubt as to the constitutional validity of our premise, is now above the clouds and must

proceed with supersonic speed, to save our society from plunging into communistic socialism and to link the world's continents in an endless chain of true democracy for all citizens of the one-world of the future.

Freedom's supersonic aircraft is *delayed* for her long-awaited take-off by various forces which are cited in St. Paul's Ephesian (*Ephesians,* 6:12) exhortations: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

The White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., some Southern Governors, and, lately, the John Birch Society, to name a few, illustrate one type of traffic delaying our flight to freedom.

MOB ACTION IN ALABAMA

The brutal mob action of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama against the Freedom Riders this spring shocked the entire nation, including some daily newspapers in Alabama. Governor John Patterson of Alabama, the state where a bus was burned and where black and white men and women were set upon and beaten by race-hating hoodlums while police turned their backs, tried to speak of states' rights to his fellow governors at a conference in Hawaii. He talked, but he reached nobody because the mob had spoken to them so loudly long before.

The "warnings" of Governor Patterson and his kind of states' righters will fall on deaf ears as long as they encourage and condone barbaric mob assaults on the low level of race. No governor of a non-Southern state, however he may view federal action in certain areas, will knowingly align himself with the monstrous states' wrongs perpetrated against the Freedom Riders by Alabama in the name of the states' rights. The virulence of the Alabama disease is attested to by the extraordinary fact that even Mississippi refused to follow the bloody example of Montgomery and Birmingham.

In a way, the newly-revealed John Birch Society is more of a threat than iron-pipe mobsters in Alabama, for the Birch Society wears the robes of respectability and does not conduct its campaigns in gutters and alleys. But do not be deceived. Its number one objective is the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court for handing down the school segregation ruling.

The Birch Society is also against federal-civil-rights action and for leaving such matters to the states. Finally, the Birch Society believes in restricting voting rights to those who, in its judgment, are "qualified." Most of us do not need a crystal ball to tell us how many Negro Americans the Birch Society would find to be "qualified."

As far as Negro voting rights are concerned, the John Birch Society is much more than a kissing cousin of the State of Mississippi, where only 3.89 percent of the Negro citizens of voting age are permitted to register, with an even smaller percentage permitted to vote.

The Birch Society can claim Mississippi kinship, also, on the Supreme Court and segregation issue, for Mississippi's Senator James O. East-

land told a Senatobia, Miss., crowd in 1955 that it was "obligated to defy" the ruling of the Court.

In addition to this, there is the hard-core resistance as evidenced in more than 250 laws and ordinances passed by panic-stricken Southern State legislatures and distraught city councils to avert the fulfillment of the Supreme Court's order to desegregate the public school system "with all deliberate speed!"

To say that such laws and ordinances are unconstitutional is putting it mildly. They are little short of subversive. These anti-freedom legislators have forgotten that it is still written in the Constitution that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States . . ."

After the student sit-in demonstrations spread across the country, more than 150 trespass and disorderly conduct laws were hastily passed by perplexed state and city legislators to permit the arrest of non-violent, hymn-singing, Bible-reading demonstrators and picketeers, who have dramatized the withholding of basic equal rights from all Americans. These laws, passed in the fever-heat of anger and of adhesion to a social concept stemming from the dark ages, have been proved unconstitutional and they are also ungodly.

REPRISALS AGAINST MEMBERS

I do not have to remind this delegation from the branches of our great organization that these recent repressive acts against student sit-ins and Freedom Riders are not the first of their kind. We of the NAACP know what repression means. Louisiana, Texas, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama have taken various steps against either our organization or our members.

They have enacted special laws. They have set up legislative investigating committees. They have used the Communist smear. They have tried in every way to get our membership list. Father Theodore Gibson, the courageous president of our Miami, Fla., branch, faces a $1,200 fine and six months in jail because he has refused to reveal the names of NAACP members to a legislative committee.

As a result of the actions of the states and of the inflammatory public statements of some state officials and legislators, too many of our people have lost their jobs and their credit. Some of their homes have been bombed and shot into. NAACP state and local leaders and their families have been threatened. Violence has been used.

Despite all this, *we have beaten them off*. Wherever we have had a chance to fight, even on the ground they themselves have chosen, we have defeated them. The Louisiana and Arkansas laws have been struck down. The Virginia laws are still in court. The Florida thing is still on appeal. Only Alabama remains as it was on June 1, 1956, and that is because the Alabama courts thus far have refused to place our case on the docket for a hearing, after the state was reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Not only have our lawyers won in the courts, but our people in the

communities have won in spiritual battles.

The NAACP is operating in Mississippi and in every Southern state, except Alabama. Our local units are active in those states. We have there a *moving*, not a *holding* organization. I could call the roll tonight from El Paso, Texas, to Alexandria, Virginia, and throughout that sweep across our Southland, NAACP voices, confident and unafraid, would answer with the deeds they have done under the strafing of the enemy. The best proof of this courageous pushing power—not mere survival power—is to be found in the fact that for last year, that is, for 1960, the NAACP had a gain of 46,412 in membership.

So, everything they have been able to throw against the recent demonstrations and the steady and victorious hammering of the NAACP has not stopped the drive toward freedom.

Tonight, your Board Chairman calls for *a phalanx of freedom fighters* that will win the war, not just battles. We have shed too many tears of both despair and joy, we have sacrificed too much blood of too many pioneers and martyrs to be carried away in this late day by the euphony of a new slogan, or by the symphonic repetition of old and enduring truisms. The founders of the two pure Negro Methodisms in America rose from their knees in segregated church balconies in 1789 and 1796, respectively, and declared that segregation must go.

We are too old in the ways of the long struggle that has engaged our fathers and forefathers not to realize that wars are won by using every available military resource and not by the employment of raiding parties alone.

SIGNAL FLARE NOT BARRAGE

The dramatic exposure of segregation practices and of law enforcement procedures is useful in awakening a complacent public opinion among white and colored Americans, but to suggest that its function in the Great War goes much beyond this is to confuse a signal flare with a barrage.

In calling for a phalanx of fighters, we invite all to join in the drive to a victory that has been made sure by the varied and brilliant tactics and the steady pounding of our NAACP.

It was the NAACP legal victory that planted the immovable stone on the grave of bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. Although the sit-in technique had been used against single stores, it was NAACP young people who pioneerd its use in 1958 against whole communities in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri.

We have banished the jim-crow railroad car and the jim-crow bus, and jim-crow air terminals are on their way out. A Negro woman of Brooklyn, N. Y., who was dragged from her pullman berth in Florida in 1927 and for whom NAACP attorneys won a law suit and damages was one of those who went crying into the wilderness ahead of today's Freedom Riders.

We have led the American people through the deserts represented by the Elaine, Ark., riot and persecution, by the famous Sweet case in Detroit, and by the long blood bath of lynching. Where there were no roads through these wastelands of

EYES ON CIVIL RIGHTS—*President Kennedy and Bishop Spottswood (standing right) study NAACP appeal for civil-rights legislation now. Standing rear, from L: Medgar Evers, Jackson, Miss.; Calvin Luper, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Edward Turner, Detroit, Mich.; Jack Tanner, Tacoma, Wash.; Rev. W. J. Hodge, Louisville, Ky.; Rev. S. Y. Nixson, Longview, Texas; C. R. Darden, Meridian, Miss.; Kelly Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; and Kivie Kaplan, Boston, Mass.*

proscription and hatred, we built them. Where there were no precedents, we set them. Where there had been no hope, we fashioned it. Where there was either no law or a perversion thereof, we built new law. Where there were no guideposts, we planted them for those who were to follow. Where public opinion was indifferent or hostile, we drove home truth and aroused concern.

We have led the people across the mountains in a trek that outlawed the White Primary, struck down the restrictive real estate covenants and brought forth the epoch-making Supreme Court school decisions of 1938 through 1954.

And, by God's help, we will lead all Americans into the *green-pastures* of equal rights under the Constitution and to the *still waters* of the democracy encouched in the American dream.

Tonight we call upon the traffic tower—the White House—to clear the runways for the final take-off to freedom. We appreciate the brave

words of the Kennedys, the President and the Attorney General, regarding civil rights. Our President has made it unmistakably clear that this area is a matter of personal as well as political concern to him. The Attorney General has moved vigorously to enforce constitutional rights, particularly in voting and public accommodations. In a score of ways he has emphasized the President's attitude.

Officially, he has issued instructions and directives to his department heads. He and Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson see eye to eye on the function of the President's Committe on Equal Job Opportunity. Moreover, he has made some unusual appointments to office, one of which we have hailed with great satisfaction, although our Government's gain in Dr. Robert C. Weaver was our loss in the NAACP. All Americans, white and black, and all cities will get a better deal in housing because of the heart and head of that superior public servant, "Bob Weaver."

MISSING PIECES

Our Attorney General went down into Georgia and made an unprecedented speech on what the Department of Justice will do in protecting constitutional rights. Only four days ago the Attorney General made known the Department's action in the State of Mississippi against practices which violate the 1957 and 1960 voter registration laws.

A picture of Robert Kennedy's role in the Alabama bus riots is furnished by Governor Patterson's charge that the young Attorney General "ordered him around." We don't know whether it is true or not, but if it seemed that way to Governor Patterson, then Robert Kennedy is a rare Attorney General, indeed. He can make mistakes. In fact, he already has slipped up with his "cooling off" advice, but anyone who gives the likes of Patterson a "hot foot" is entitled to a few slips.

But with all this, there is missing from the picture of the first half-year of this Administration any move to enact the legislation so necessary to back up the pronouncements and actions of the Executive Branch of government. To repeat a cliché, ours is a government of laws, not of men. It is to the enduring law that the citizen must look for protection of his rights and for redress of his grievances, not to passing personalities, no matter how upright or courageous.

Too many minds, especially those in legislative halls and in political organizations, are not clear in their concepts of democracy. We must summon every resource and exert every pressure to convert the American mind to the pressing importance of full freedom for every citizen.

This full freedom, as every schoolboy knows, means the abolition of differential treatment based upon race and religion in every area of American life: education, voting and government, employment, housing, travel, recreation and general public accommodation. We can thus be an inspiration and a guide to the new nations of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean instead of a bitter reproach.

We must make clear to our fellow citizens that the fullness of this individual freedom is important to the United States in this crisis struggle between Communism and the West.

Let us make no mistake. We must make democracy real and workable for every American, not specifically to make a good impression on any nation or to win any people "to our side." We must do this because it is right and, in righteous practicality, because only in this way can we build an indomitable inner national spirit that will enable us to define and to enrich the free life.

Now is the time for us in the NAACP *to capitalize our gains.* Every branch has the history of fifty-two years of a solid, relentless, successful, tireless fight-for-freedom as the justifiable and proud basis for appeals for memberships and redoubled support. Life memberships are at an all-time high; the Fighting Fund for Freedom has been administered to great advantage; we have supported those upon whom reprisals have been visited because of their fight for freedom; we have aligned ourselves with, and given moral and financial support to, every worthwhile effort toward civil rights and every non-subversive organization essaying to enter this field. Our May 25 directive to branch officers spelled out our support of the Freedom Rides.

BRAVE CHILDREN

The brave children who went through Little Rock, Clinton, and New Orleans; the fearless youth who marched through showers of stones, brickbats and fire hosing, who walked the gauntlet of baseball bats, drawn police guns and the canine corps, who went to jail and returned to their non-violent demonstrations to be jailed again—all these compose a mighty army, produced by a half century of our Association's indoctrination and victorious activities.

They and the adults who backed them up constitute the inspiring fruit of our NAACP struggle, ready to carry on until freedom is won. We here tonight, therefore, should be reinspired and re-dedicated to serve in the ranks of the freedom fighters through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

After a dissertation upon those who had kept the faith, the author of the book, Hebrews, sums up the situation with these spectacular words: (*Hebrews* 12:1)

"Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses. . . ."

Tonight I am sure we are surrounded not only by the present-day witnesses across the land, but by the men and women who founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and those who have carried our banners and sat in the tents of our strategy: Oswald Garrison Villard, Jane Addams, Ida B. Wells Barnett, Mary White Ovington, Stephen B. Wise, Alexander Walters, J. Milton Waldron, William English Walling, Nannie Burroughs, W. E. B. DuBois, Joel E. Spingarn, Florence Kelly, Moorfield Storey, James Weldon Johnson, William Pickens, Walter White and an innumerable host.

They tell us to carry on. From their vantage point, they can see the world ahead; they know our cause will not fail; they see democracy across the nation and around the world as a prelude to earth's redemption for the Kingdom of God.

Let us tighten our seat belts and adjust our space suit for *the final*

Thrust to freedom. Surely, in the world ahead, will come the day when traffic will be cleared and from the legislative, judicial and executive branches of our government will come the count-down for the Stage Three rocket trip to freedom.

Segregation's walls will fall. Discrimination's towers will tumble. And Americans, those stemming from the original Indians; the Nordics, Slavs and Latins from Europe; our fathers, the survivors of the infamous African slave trade, and those whose immigrant parents were of yellow, brown and mixed bloods —all will enter a new realm of true democracy, under our Constitution, under the Stars and Stripes, under God!

TWO-WAY STREET

By Langston Hughes

Dreaming that the Negroes
Of the South have taken over—
Voted all the Dixiecrats
Right out of power—
There comes the *Colored Hour:*
Martin Luther King is Governor of Georgia,
Dr. Rufus Clement his Chief Advisor.
In white pillared mansions
Sitting on their wide verandas,
Wealthy Negroes have white servants,
White share-croppers work the black plantations,
And colored children have white mammies:
Mammy Eastland
Mammy Patterson
Mammy Faubus
Dear, *dear* darling old white mammies!
Sometimes even buried with our families.
Dear old
Mammy Faubus!
Culture, they say, is a two-way street:
Hand me my mint julep, mammy,
Make haste!

From: ASK YOUR MAMA,
12 Moods For Jazz,
by Langston Hughes,
to be published by
Knopf, October, 1961.

■ A report on the proceedings of the 52nd annual convention of the NAACP

Fifty-Second Annual Convention— Promises a Stepped-Up Crusade

By Gloster B. Current

FROM its challenging keynote, sounded on Monday, July 10, by Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood of the AME Zion Church and chairman of the NAACP national board of directors, to the closing address of Sunday, July 16, delivered by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, the Association's 52nd Annual Convention sped through a jampacked week of exciting events unparalled in NAACP history. The concensus of the 1,748 adult and youth delegates, representing 373 senior branches, 30 state and area conferences, and 82 youth council and college chapters, was that this, the second largest convention, constituted an assessment and reappraisal of their efforts in the on-going struggle for first-class citizenship.

Highlights of the convention included a 22-car Freedom Train to Washington, July 12; addresses by such outstanding personalities as James I. Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who as a freedom rider had just been released from a 38-day stay in a Jackson, Mississippi jail; James McBride Dabbs, Sumter, South Carolina, president of the Southern Regional Council; Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Harlem Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York, awarded the 46th Spingarn Medal at the closing session on Sunday. The convention also featured workshops on program and policy, and devoted considerable attention to its youth delegates, in-

GLOSTER B. CURRENT is director of the branch department, NAACP.

cluding a youth-night feature program on Friday evening.

Sessions were held during the day, at the Sheraton Hotel; evenings at Tindley Temple Methodist Church; and youth sessions at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel.

Bishop Spottswood, delivering his first keynote address as board chairman, reviewed the 21-year growth of the NAACP from a convention of over 1,748 delegates representing of 400 delegates from 33 states in 1940 when it met last in Philadelphia, to to a 1961 convention of over 1,748 delegates representing 44 states. In 1940 the membership was 50,556 in 352 adult branches; in 1960, the total was 388,000 in 1,425 branches, youth councils and college chapters.

"Aside from our own NAACP growth," the Board Chairman declared," one dramatic development illustrates the changes that have been wrought in the onslaught against racial proscription. When we met in 1940, the United States Air Corps (as it was known then) was completely lily-white. In fact, responsible officials in the military establishment were debating soberly whether the Negro was capable of flying an airplane! One June 15 last year, an Air Force jet, the tanker version of the Boeing 707, was flown 7,175 miles non-stop from Japan to North Carolina in 12½ hours with a Negro captain from Albany, Georgia, at the controls."

DEFINING LIBERALS

A Southerner and a Northerner shared the platform at the Tuesday evening session, July 11. James McBride of Sumter, South Carolina, president, Southern Regional Council, discussed the plight of the tongue-tied liberals in the South. Differentiating between the southern and northern variety, Dabbs said that the northern liberal "is a man who believes in people first and property second, who speaks for the underdog and for the minorities, who finds himself rather lonely in our highly materialistic, urban, industrial order, where the old natural communities have broken down, and who is willing to use rather freely the power of the law to gain his ends."

The southern liberal, said Dabbs, "has seen much less industrial development, much less urbanization, and therefore, much less disintegration of the old communities." Therefore the southern liberal is "much more subject to the continuing community spirit, and much more dependent upon it; he is also much more supported by it."

Explaining the silence of white liberals, Dabbs said they aren't silent "simply because they have no experience in democratic relations with Negroes; they are silent also because of the evident power of the white community to injure economically, socially, and even physically." He cited the fear of school closure in Georgia as causing the "rending of the curtain of silence" in that state, giving credit to the legal pressures of the NAACP that aroused this fear and broke the pall of silence making it possible for liberals to speak even if only on the broad subject of maintaining public schools. Dabbs indicated that the recent events in the South are causing the conservative South to begin to be thankful for the NAACP; that the

"sit-ins and freedom rides have made the NAACP seem by contrast conservative, and therefore, more native to a conservative South." If, he reasoned, "these things keep on, the South will be subsidizing the NAACP the way it now subsidizes the White Citizens Councils."

Many southern delegates disagreed with this point, asserting that there were no discernible indications in many areas that pressures against NAACP leaders are being relaxed, or anti-NAACP laws repealed. Rather, the South's political leaders and power structure are still most reluctant to deal with the NAACP, to recognize it as the main force in the agitation for desegregation on the community level.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality and former program director NAACP, speaking on the same program with Dabbs, told the delegates that freedom rides would be continued until the illegal walls of segregation come tumbling down." Speaking less than a week after his release from Parchman Prison, Jackson, Mississippi, after serving 38 days of a 40-day sentence, Farmer outlined the strategy of the freedom rides, which constituted an effort by CORE, he said, to bring the evils of segregation "out into the open, into the pitiless glare of the sunlight of democracy—to expose the real nature of segregation, its essential violence and brutality, its insanity and illegality."

Farmer's appearance at the NAACP Convention erased rumors of organizational conflict over methodology in pursuing civil-rights objectives. He gave credit to the NAACP for its half-century of effort "blazing trails for freedom through the jungles of bigotry in our nation . . . without which none of us could walk our present assurance and certainty of reaching our goal of complete freedom." Counselling cooperation as the most effective means of attaining common objectives, the CORE leader advised: "Let no one mistake debate on tactics for division on goals."

MARSHALL ON INTEGRATION

Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., was the principal speaker at the convention's Freedom Fund Dinner, Thursday, July 13, presided over by Jackie Robinson, co-chairman with heavyweight champion Floyd Patterson of the 1961 NAACP Freedom Fund Campaign.

Marshall deplored the slow pace of school desegregation, praised efforts in the North, including New Rochelle, to end segregated schools, reviewed progress made to secure desegregation in recreation areas, swimming pools, golf courses, airports and other places of public accomodation.

He set straight the record on Dr. Martin Luther King's arrest in Georgia on a traffic violation, whose release has been widely credited to a famous telephone call during the past Presidential election. NAACP lawyers, said Marshall, "headed by Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, and assisted by our office in New York, worked for three days and three nights on legal procedures in the courts of Georgia and proposed legal procedures in the federal courts, resulting in the freeing of Dr. Martin Luther King."

The aftermath of the sit-in demonstrations, while "many have forgotten the sit-ins, themselves, "said Marshall, finds NAACP attorneys connected with the Legal Defense Fund, Inc., "in the midst of preparing petitions for certiorari from convictions of sit-ins in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. . . . In South Carolina alone there are more than 800 cases of appeal in that state."

Mr. Marshall, taking note of the questioning of the advisability of such actions, said: "There is room for even more demonstrations, provided they are lawful and peaceful. It would be better if everyone in this country came to the conclusion that freedom is everybody's business." Marshall urged coordination of efforts, because the opponents of progress are well organized and coordinated.

Pointing to the dangers confronting integrationists in accepting token integration resulting from school placement laws and other unacceptable plans, Marshall said that the time has come for the NAACP "to once again be called unreasonable, intolerant and impatient. We have got to take our struggle into every town and hamlet throughout the country; North as well as South."

In order to impress the South that NAACP means business, Marshall advised a campaign, starting in September, to have all of "our members and friends taking their children to the nearest school and insisting that they be registered there instead of at that gloriously segregated school." He suggested a fall "March for Integration."

POWELL & RANDOLPH

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and A. Philip Randolph, were principal speakers at the Labor Dinner, Friday evening, July 14. The chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the militant crusader, Powell, urged the NAACP in the challenging Sixties to "radically change its thrust."

He promised to extend through legislation, which he planned to introduce, the minimum wage coverage until it includes the laundry workers and hotel and restaurant employees. Attacking discrimination in unions, Powell said that repeated protests to the various international unions and the Department of Labor have been unavailing.

Urging support of the sit-ins and freedom rides, Powell called on every American "with unparalleled militancy, to strike down the barriers of the economic blockade. We not only want to sit at the lunch counter, we want to work behind it! We not only want to ride the busses, we want to drive them!"

A. Philip Randolph, venerated labor leader, discussed the problems confronting Negro workers today, including unemployment, exclusion from membership in trade unions, apprenticeship training programs, racially segregated unions, democracy in unions and segregated seniority rosters and lines of job progression. Randolph congratulated the NAACP upon its uncompromising fight against bias in trade unions, industry, and government.

SPINGARN MEDAL

Dr Kenneth B. Clark, professor of

psychology, College of the City of New York, was awarded the 46th Spingarn Medal by Dr. Otto Klineberg, professor and chairman, Department of Social Psychology, Columbia University, at the closing mass meeting Sunday, July 16, at the Tindley Temple Methodist Church.

Dr. Clark, one of the social scientists who testified in the school desegregation cases, also has the distinction of being listed in a footnote to the May 17, 1954, school desegregation decision (K.B. Clark, "Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development." Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950.)

Speaking on the subject, "The Negro Intellectual in Contemporary America", Dr. Clark discussed the problems and difficulties of intellectuals generally, their place in American society, their responsibility to quest for truth and justice, and the discipline required of the thinker. The Negro intellectual, he said, has an extra burden, especially in view of increasing signs that some white intellectuals have been silenced and intimidated, or seduced by goals of success and status. "Some have become apologists for the status quo under the guise of super patriotism, intellectual sophistry, obscurantism, moral relativism, gradualism, moderation, pessimism and cynicism," the prominent social scientist said.

DR. KENNETH B. CLARK, *professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York, was recipient of the NAACP's 46th Spingarn Medal for "distinguished merit and achievement." He was cited for the work he did in preparing the social science document which contributed significantly to the historic Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954, banning segregation in public education. Pictured, from L, are his mother Mrs. C. C. Austin, Dr. Clark, his daughter Kate, and wife Dr. Mamie Clark.*

He said it might be imperative for the Negro "to assume the decisive and difficult role of the critical intellectual if America is to be saved."

The intelligent American Negro has "the awsome task of liberating white Americans from the moral corruption of racism. . . . [and as he does so] the Negro intellectual cannot become ensnared in or accept uncritically the over simplifications or the strategic semantics of such terms."

In an obliquely critical reference to the passive non-violent philosophy of the popular Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the teachings of the black nationalists, Dr. Clark said that while the intelligent American Negro is liberating white Americans from the moral corruption of racism that "the Negro intellectual cannot become ensnared in or accept uncritically the over simplifications or the strategic semantics of such terms as 'love for the oppressor' or the frenetic hatred of the black supremacist. Neither of these positions—in spite of the fact that one seems acceptable to the tender conscience of many whites and the other seems terribly threatening to their guilt and fear—is compatible with the psychological realities or the social imperatives of the Negro's status and role in contemporary America. Nor can the Negro intellectual of today retreat to the conciliatory opportunism of Booker T. Washington or the quasi-snobbishness of the early Dubois."

WILKINS CLOSES CONVENTION

The Association's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, after an introduction by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president, Morehouse College, who presided at the closing mass rally, delivered a stirring appeal to the audience of 3,500 delegates and visitors who crowded Tindley Temple, to go home and carry out the program of action hammered out by the Convention during the week.

Reviewing the resolution adopted on Friday and Saturday, Wilkins said that the Philadelphia Convention story is that the fight has not let up, but has expanded, that the unmistakable mood of the Convention was one of impatience with the slow pace of integration in American life and with the timeworn and "transparently invalid excuses for that slow pace."

Wilkins said that the Association would press for desegregation of the public schools in northern cities as well as in the South, would never be satisfied with "tokenism", and promised an intensified attack on the pupil assignment laws which slow down integration in the South, and on the gerrymandering of school districts and other devices used in the North, including the juggling of the transfer system and teachers assignments.

To those who will raise the question of consistency in arguments, especially those who aver that northern school segregation is the outgrowth of neighborhood geography, Wilkins pointed out that the residential segregation forced upon Negroes by the real estate interests, banks and mortgage companies ought not to be upheld "by the school boards with our children paying the penalty for the rest of their lives." He said that the NAACP "regards these school boards as obligated to advise and to

use methods to comply with the court's order regardless of geographical, residential segregation."

Wilkins promised that the NAACP will increase its activity in the employment field, will conduct additional trade-withholding campaigns, will step up the attack on segregated housing policies, use the increased voting strength resulting from the heavy concentration of Negro voting power in the large industrial cities to pressure Congress for more civil-rights legislation, and through registration campaigns "to secure for more Negroes their right to cast a ballot on election day."

Using a variety of NAACP weapons, including the magnificent instrumentality of the NAACP, "the most powerful organization of its kind in the country," Wilkins, as did many others during the week, repeated the clarion call for a crusade for freedom in every village and in every city "as the best guarantee that our beloved country will have the strength and the integrity necessary to maintain its freedom in a threatening world."

WORKSHOPS INSTRUCTIVE

Serious-minded delegates crowded into the day sessions, which discussed in depth such topics as The Negro voter, NAACP battlefront, voting, employment, education, public accomodations, housing and special problems, branch public relations, membership, and fund-raising techniques.

Dr. Emmett E. Dorsey, chairman, Department of Political Science, Howard University, discussing the power of the Negro vote, said that the political philosophy which motivates most Negro voters is that of the American "variant of welfare stateism," pointing out that since 1936, most colored voters have supported the New and Fair Deal elements of the Democratic Party: "This large majority of Negro voters desires government specifically to (1) expand significantly social welfare and security programs, and to (2) implement thoroughly and universally the civil rights and civil liberties of the Federal Constitution."

Pointing to the jim-crow laws and practices which limit the Negroes' participation in community life, Dorsey said that these denials render Negroes second-class citizens, and that the recent political performance of Negroes at the polls suggests "that most Negroes and their political leaders are not adequately aware of the crucial role of civil liberties in the civil rights struggle." As an illustration, he reviewed the "recent crude attempts by southern states to render the NAACP ineffective" and suggested that "there is need of greater realization that the people and interests that seek to curb civil liberties are also the enemies of civil rights."

Those organizations and individuals who defend civil liberties are usually the Negro's most vigorous allies in the "rights" struggle, Dorsey observed.

The shift in Negro population to northern cities, said Dorsey, to improve their social and economic status, requires an alignment with other struggling masses. But the balance of power strategy of Negro leaders is not working out too well, he concluded, for the colored vote has been concentrated with that of one party primarily, because the Negro voters answer "that they cannot support the

Republican party which in their view represents economic policies inimical to their interests."

In the South, the Negro represents only about twenty-five per cent of the population and though there is "reluctant permissiveness of Negro voting in the larger cities of the South, in the rural and small town areas there is usually vigorous opposition to Negro registration and voting. . . ." Despite these difficulties, the Negro voting strength in the South is increasing, significantly in recent presidential elections. "Such achievements," said the famous political scientist, "by the southern Negro voters result in greater consideration by Presidents—and Presidents can do much to aid Negroes in their struggle for advancement."

FORMER VICE-MAYOR SPEAKS

Theodore M. Berry, former vice-mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio, and member of the Association's national board, discussed "State and Local Issues Affecting the Negro Voter." Berry suggested that the time has come for the NAACP to abandon its politically nonpartisan policies and adopt tactics, through the creation of a political action affiliate, similar to those of the labor unions.

"In most cities," Berry said, "the local politicians take a cynical view of the Negro voter," which indicates that they can count on the Negro vote and the way it will go. Criticizing Negro leaders who permit themselves to be exploited, Berry called on economically secure Negroes, such as doctors, lawyers, and professionals, to take a more active role in politics in the community.

Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's hardworking lobbyist, charged that the present Administration has betrayed Negro voters on the matter of legislation, that President Kennedy had failed to live up to platform pledges by failing to spearhead a civil-rights legislative fight. "The President won't run for office again for four years," Mitchell reminded his audience, but there is something you can do, he said, and that is to "let those gentlemen who are running for office next year (for congressional posts) know that we are interested in what they are going to do between now and November of 1962."

FREEDOM TRAIN

Mitchell told the delegates who were going to Washington the next day, that they could urge upon congressmen the passage of a nine-point legislative program during their all-day lobbying visits. Recommendations included: Change in the Senate cloture rule to permit a majority vote to end filibuster; strengthening the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to empower the Attorney General to act in civil rights-cases in the South, such as transportation and other cases; passage of federal FEPC, anti-lynching, and anti-poll tax legislation, nondiscrimination provisions in any federal-aid-to-education law adopted, action to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission to make it a permanent agency, and home rule for the District of Columbia.

Thirtieth Street Station, Philadelphia, was crowded Wednesday morning, July 12, as more than 1,200 delegates sought to board the NAACP Special—Freedom Train—to Washington, which left promptly at 8:30 a.m. Railroad officials said it was one

of the longest in history. NAACP freedom fighters marched from the Sheraton Hotel to the station; and after arriving in Washington, where hosts and hostesses from the District of Columbia Branch, under the leadership of Dr. E. Franklin Jackson, its president, took over, marched to the Senate Office Building, where in the auditorium, briefings were held, addresses made by Senators, Representatives, and majority leaders of both parties, and at 5 p.m., reports from the various delegations were given.

A 60-man delegation visited President John F. Kennedy in the White House at 4 p.m. Headed by 83-year old President Arthur B. Spingarn and Board Chairman, Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, the delegation included board members, state presidents, chairman of regional groups, youth and staff.

Bishop Spottswood, as spokesman, expressed appreciation for the White House Conference, and for the effective executive action taken on civil rights, including actions by departments and agencies such as in the LockheedAircraft case. The speech of the Attorney General in Georgia was also applauded, as well as the government's action in support of the freedom riders in Alabama and Mississippi.

Expressing appreciation to the group for coming, President Kennedy announced that earlier that day eight of the nation's largest government contractors had agreed in signed statements presented to Vice-President Lyndon Johnson, chairman

PRESIDENT KENNEDY *warmly greets NAACP delegates who visit White House on behalf of civil-rights legislation now.*

MEMBERS *of the Colorado delegation to the convention stop off to confer with Senator Gordon Allott in Washington. Included in the group are, from L, A. J. Madison of Pueblo, Barbara Coopersmith of Denver, Senator Allott, Hugu Gilmartin and Oliver Diggs, both of Denver, Romeo Winston of Pueblo, and Mrs. Madison.*

of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, to implement policies of nondiscrimination in employment in their companies.

The President, while non-commital on the NAACP request for legislative action, said that the government was greatly interested in protecting the right to vote and stressed the need for increased Negro voting strength in the North as well as the South.

Afterwards, he took the group on a personally conducted tour of the White House, showing, among other things, Lincoln's bed, which caused one delegate, back at the Senate Auditorium, on hearing this phase of the report, to crack, "We don't want to see Lincoln's bed, we want our children to go to school in Mississippi."

The lobbying delegates were addressed by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, sponsor of the pending civil rights bill, by Senators Wayne Morse, (D. Ore.), Hugh Scott, (R. Pa.), Paul M. Douglas (D. Ill.), Jacob K. Javits (R. N. Y.), Rep. Celler and NAACP's Executive Secretary, Roy Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell, of the Washington Bureau.

Reports from individual delegates ranged from disappointment, by southern delegates who visited their congressmen, to optimistic, from those who visited northern and western congressmen. Southern delegates, especially from States such as Georgia, where the Negro vote is increasing, were impressed by the fact that for the first time since NAACP grass roots lobbyists attempted to obtain appointments, the members of the southern congressional delegations were more courteous and willing to listen to their constituents, than formerly, even permitting use of telephones to make other appointments.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP LUNCHEON

The annual life membership luncheon, held Tuesday, July 11, in the Pennsylvania Ballroom West, Sheraton Hotel, was attended by an overflow crowd of more than 300 delegates and members. Among those participating on the program were Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, chairman, National Board of Directors; Arthur Spingarn, president; Roy Wilkins; Kivie Kaplan, life membership co-chairman; Earl B. Dickerson, Hubert T. Delany and Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, members, National Board of Directors and National Life Membership Committee; Dr. George D. Cannon, member, Life Membership Committee; L. Pearl Mitchell, vice-president, NAACP; and James P. Ramsey, life membership chairman, Philadelphia branch.

The primary purpose of this affair is to present the Kivie Kaplan Life Membership Award to branches for outstanding contributions in the life membership campaign during the previous year. Those branches receiving the award were Detroit, Michigan; Boston, Massachusetts; Savannah, Georgia; Sacramento, California; Alexandria, Virginia; and Sumpter, South Carolina.

Honorable mention: Jamaica, New York; Newark and Camden, New Jersey.

NAACP BATTLEFRONT

The Thursday, all-day, session on "The NAACP Battlefront" was designed by the program planners to give an overview of the widespread power of the Association at the community level. John Morsell, assistant to the executive secretary, introducing the discussion, said that while there is no doubt as to whom the white supremacists regard as their Number One enemy—the NAACP—nevertheless, "we find from time to time that not only members of the public but people within the NAACP family itself are lacking in awareness of the extent and power of our collective combat."

Reports about voting activities were given by John Brooks, NAACP voter registration director, Levi Turner, Tampa, Florida; Mrs. Juanita J. Mitchell, Baltimore, Maryland; George L. Holloway, Jr., Memphis,

Tennessee; and Dr. Aaron Henry, Mississippi.

Highlights of efforts to eliminate discrimination in employment were given by labor secretary, Herbert Hill; Floyd McKissick, Durham, N. C.; Lee Vertis Swinton, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Sarah Johnson, Topeka, Kansas; and Herbert R. Hughes, Dallas, Texas.

School desegregation reports were given by June Shagaloff, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., consultant; Paul Dennis, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Charles A. McLean, North Carolina; Rev. Carl Fuqua, Chicago, Ill.; and James K. Baker, Philadelphia.

Public accommodations victories were reviewed by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP Southeast regional secretary; W. J. Hodge, Louisville; Medgar Evers, Jackson, Mississippi; Robert Saunders, Florida; William Bowen, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Rev. I. D. Newman, South Carolina.

Sally Bowles of the United States Peace Corps was the principal speaker at the Youth Freedom Fund Dinner; other speakers included Ernest Green, Little Rock, Arkansas; and Miss Barbara Posey of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Ike Smalls Award was presented to the Kansas City, Missouri, Youth Council and the Advisor's Award was won by Mrs. Daisy Brown, advisor to the Kansas City, Missouri, youth council.

Housing issues were reviewed by Jack Wood, NAACP special assistant for housing; Rev. John E. Hunter, Gary, Indiana; Arthur Johnson, Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. U. S. Brooks, Charlotte, N. C.; and Rev. Marcus Wood, Baltimore, Maryland.

A special report on the NAACP's activities supporting the beleaguered farmers in Haywoor and Fayette Counties, Tennessee, which ultimately resulted in obtaining government food subsistence allotments from surplus commodities and easing of the economic freeze against gasoline supplies, food and medical supplies, was given by NAACP Field Secretary, L. C. Bates of Little Rock.

The bread and butter topic, "Selling the NAACP" through improved public relations, membership and fund-raising was discussed by such NAACP leaders as Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, Washington, D. C.; Arthur L. Johnson, Detroit, Michigan; Harold Williams, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. C. R. Roquemore, Wellington, Kansas; Mrs. Frankie Jones, Berkeley, Calif; James E. McCann, San Diego; Mrs. Benona Bradford, Bronx, N. Y.; R. St. Clair Jackson, Bayonne, N. J.; James E. Scott, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. James Levy, Cleveland, Ohio; Damon Keith, Detroit, Michigan; Robert D. Robertson, Norfolk, Va.; Mrs. Maxine Smith, Memphis; and J. Arthur Brown, Charleston.

YOUTH AT CONVENTION

The NAACP has had youth and junior groups since its founding, but after the 1935 St. Louis Convention, when a charming Baltimore girl, Juanita Jackson, later Youth Secretary, now married to the Association's Washington lobbyist, Clarence Mitchell, shook up the convention with a fiery speech calling for a more formal youth organization with program and staff, the young people have steadily grown in numbers and importance. Present in the 52nd Convention were the sons and daugh-

ters of many NAACP leaders, past and present, who, like their parents, were rebelliously looking at their elders, asking for more recognition.

For youth activities, as a result of student-manned protest demonstrations, picket-lines, sit-ins, wade-ins and freedom rides have pointed up the role of youth in today's intensified struggle. Integrated with the adults in plenary sessions, and providing members on delegations to see congressmen in Washington, yet the young had a few sessions devoted to their own problems. More than 500 young people were registered. Some had already made names for themselves and are veterans in the civil-rights struggle: Ernest Green, formerly of Little Rock, first graduate of Central High School, now president of Michigan State University's College Chapter; Barbara Posey, former president of the Oklahoma City youth council, now active in University of Oklahoma College Chapter; Calvin Luper, 14-year-old sit-in leader of many demonstrations in Oklahoma City; Roslyn Cheagle, president Greensboro's Bennett College chapter, which lead a registration campaign resulting in the registration of 1,000 voters in one week; and many others.

Under the direction of Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary, the youth and their adult advisers held workshops, participated in regional caucuses, often needling adults for place on important committees and assignments.

The youth's role in mobilizing the Negro vote was discussed in workshops presided over by Calvin Luper, Oklahoma City, and Nick Hall, Flint, Michigan, with W. C. Patton, NAACP field secretary; Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, Baltimore; and John M. Brooks, as consultants.

Other youth workshops discussed importance of better education and training, scholarship and loan opportunities, membership and fund-raising, program and strategy.

The Sheraton Hotel's crowded grand ballroom rocked on Friday night, Youth Night, with the torrid rhythms of African dances, the drums of Max Roach, famous percussionist, Michael Olatunji, Nigerian drummer, as background to the "Freedom Now" suite written by Roach and lyricist Oscar Brown, Jr., himself the son of a famous NAACP father of Chicago NAACP history. Others in the cast included the popular singers Sarah Vaughn and Abbey Lincoln.

Preceding the Suite, remarks were made by Edward Opton, president Duke University College chapter and Evelyn Pierce, Tougaloo College chapter, one of the NAACP youths arrested in March for sitting down in the Jackson, Mississippi, public library, and attempting to ride an unsegregated city bus.

In the report of the National Youth Work Committee, presented by James Blake, chairman, student at Morehouse College, Atlanta, the year 1960 was called "the year of the youth." The accelerated activities of the NAACP youth groups included public accommodations victories won in San Antonio, Galveston and Texas City, Texas, Winston-Salem, High Point, and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Norfolk, Portsmouth, Petersburg, Arlington and Suffolk, Virginia; Kansas City, Jefferson City, and St. Louis, Missouri;

Baltimore, Maryland, Louisville, Kentucky and other cities.

Youth won employment victories in Kansas City, which resulted in 25 adults being employed by the Hallmark Greeting Card Company; the employment of bus drivers and the opening of theaters in downtown Kansas City. Jacksonville, Florida, youth, while sitting in for public accommodations, won employment opportunities for Negro bus drivers on the local transit system, and Durham youth opened up many new job opportunities.

Blake reported that sit-ins have been conducted in 151 cities and 15 states, the majority of which were led by NAACP groups. Over 2,000 students have been arrested and their fines total more than $128,000. The vast majority of arrested students have been defended by NAACP attorneys, he said.

Yet, despite these gains, the youth were running into difficulty, in some areas, with adult groups. Blake pressed for deletion of the word "subordinate" from NAACP branch constitutions as a means of removing this deterrent to more aggressive action in some cities. The Convention's Constitution Revision Committee, headed by Mrs. Jackie Freeman, St. Louis, took cognizance of the problem and recommended to the National Board of Directors that at its next meeting consideration be given through appropriate amendments to remedying any problems existing in adult-youth relationships.

Youth delegates, by order of the Convention Procedure Committee, served on all Convention committees and were elected to the National Nominating and Convention Procedure Committees for the 1962 Convention.

POLICY RESOLUTIONS

In addition to reaffirming goals through adoption of 62 resolutions pointing to the use of tested instruments of democratic progress and reform, and promising to use a variety of methods to attain NAACP objectives, the Convention adopted several resolutions which caused some floor debate. One of these labeled "Black Nationalists, Muslims and Other Separatist Groups" took note of groups advocating "racial separatist policies, including assignment of the Negro to separate and distinct states." The Convention said the NAACP is "unalterably opposed to all separatist programs whether advocated by white segregationists or espoused by non-white racists organizations." At the same time, concern was expressed that those who decry the rise of such groups, could make it more difficult for such groups to flourish through "acceleration of the pace toward equality of citizenship for all, and greater support of organizations, such as the NAACP, which are working for desegregation. . . ."

A significant development was reported by the Board: that, in accordance with the instructions of the 51st Convention, the Board was amending its Constitution to provide for increasing the Board membership from 48 to 60 members, inclusive of 21 representatives from the seven regions; three youth members to be nominated by the youth at the Convention and elected by youth councils and college chapters; eighteen members-at-large to be nominated

and elected by the Board. The Board will meet quarterly under the new plan, effective 1962, and interim decisions will be made by a 15-man Executive Committee.

There is a certain nostalgic feeling generated at the closing meeting of an NAACP Convention. Observers have often stated that the singing of the hymn "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" always brings tears of remembrance of the heroes who stood in the ranks years ago, yearning for the days which are now so exciting and fruitful. This sentiment was no less marked by those who stood in Tindley Temple, Philadelphia, Sunday afternoon, July 16, resolving with bowed heads to return with renewed vigor to the fray wherever the banner of the organization flies, militant and unafraid, hoping that by the time of the next Convention in Atlanta, or at least by 1963 in Chicago, where the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation will be celebrated, that the American Negro will be freer to exercise rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

JAMES ELLIS, *president Saginaw, Michigan, branch receives his NAACP life membership plaque from Charles Perkins (R), who is substituting for branch life membership chairman, Mrs. Belle Liles. Past branch president Henry McSmith looks on.*

Saginaw News

Press View of NAACP Convention

THE 52nd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was widely covered by the nation's newspapers, radio, and television. Of prime interest to the media was the "Freedom Train" with the accompanying conference with President Kennedy and the lobbying activities on Capitol Hill.

Also of particular interest were Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins' pre-convention press conference, the keynote address by Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, board chairman, and Thurgood Marshall's Freedom Fund dinner address. Not only were all of these events fully covered but they evoked widespread editorial comment.

To the Houston *Informer* (August 12) the large registration of delegates, the second largest in the history of the Association, was "a very impressive showing," making "it clear that the efforts which segregationists have put forth in recent years to close the NAACP down have utterly failed."

Moreover, the editorial continues, this turnout "confirms the fact that the establishment of other organizations to fight the war of firstclass citizenship has not been accomplished at the expense of cutting down on the NAACP. Rather, what has happened is that many more people have joined the struggle, and are now attacking the problems from other points of view and by different methods."

The Washington trip, comments the Toledo, Ohio, *Blade* (July 17), "reflects the trend to mass action now marked by Freedom Riders, sit-ins, wade-ins, pray-ins and such activities." The Association, the editorial asserts, "descending on the capital to press for civil rights legislation made, practically speaking, a dramatic move for the record."

Commenting on the White House conference, the Pittsburgh *Courier* (July 22) compares the meeting with one held in 1932 when President Hoover received a delegation for whom the late Roscoe Conkling Simmons was spokesman. Mr. Hoover, the editorial recalls, replied to the delegation's pleas "with a farrago of cliches that meant exactly nothing concrete.

"Last week, the NAACP brass, led by the redoubtable Roy Wilkins, journeyed to Washington, assembled inside the White House and conferred with President Kennedy. They were deluged with a storm of what Woodrow Wilson called 'weasel words,' but got no assurance that the Administration would work for a civil rights law. . . .

"However, it must be stated in all fairness that President Kennedy faced up to the situation with honesty and practicality when he frankly stated the truism that civil rights laws in profusion being already on the books, the real need is to enforce the laws we have rather than bothering with new laws. If the Administration will do this (as it shows every sign of doing) then we don't think Negroes will have any complaint."

The Akron, Ohio, *Beacon-Journal* (July 18) notes that the delegation which called upon President Kennedy "praised him for 'effective executive action' on civil rights. Then they told him that they were unhappy that he had not done more to push for legislative action. . . . While the President listened courteously to the demand for more laws, he was certainly correct when he told the delegation that existing civil rights laws have not been used sufficiently. . . ."

Defending the President's inactivity on the civil-rights legislative front, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* (July 16) expresses the opinion that "Mr. Kennedy has good reason to hold to that decision at this time." The NAACP delegates to the White House, the Missouri newspaper observes, "came away disappointed. President Kennedy is standing on his decision not to promote a civil rights bill until other domestic legislation has cleared Congress."

Criticism of the Kennedy administration at the convention, the Milwaukee *Journal* (July 12) believes, "is aimed at the failure of the administration to back new civil rights legislation. NAACP officials say this is a violation of Democratic platform pledges." This neglect the *Journal* asserts, "does not mean that civil rights battles are not coming. At the right time, legislation will be sought."

Mr. Wilkins' remarks at his press conference "criticizing but not castigating the Kennedy administration for not moving more rapidly in the area of new civil rights legislation," (Sioux City, Iowa, *Journal*, July 19) drew both commendation and admonition from American newspapers.

The *Journal* "suspects" that Mr. Wilkins knows that a deal has been made on civil rights legislation. His announcement, it asserts, "is a simple reminder to the administration and to the non-southerners in Congress that an important voting bloc understands fully what is going on, and is registering the fact that it does know."

The Cleveland *Call and Post* (July 15) approvingly notes that Mr. Wilkins' call for presidential backing of early congressional action on civil rights "parallels that so frequently voiced by this newspaper which has insisted that no amount of 'executive action' can adequately substitute for meaningful legislation in the area of civil rights."

The Administration's attitude, the *Call and Post* charges, "represents a desertion of the cause of civil rights, and a surrender to southern bigots. It

is this surrender that causes Negroes to withhold the high praise they might otherwise be able to heap upon young President Kennedy for his otherwise exemplary conduct in the field of Negro rights."

The Cleveland newspaper further notes: "Last year the NAACP spent $1.2 million in administrative and legal expenses carrying our fight to the enemy. How much of it did YOU contribute?"

The NAACP Executive Secretary, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* (July 11) points out, "has agreed that President Kennedy has administratively supported the fight against racial discrimination and has appointed Negroes to high federal offices. But he has added that executive actions and moral persuasion by the President are not enough. New civil rights legislation is needed, and Kennedy has persistently backed away from all such legislation at the present session of Congress."

Despite certain "practical considerations," the *Inquirer* declares that "there is no politically 'right' or 'wrong' time for consideration of civil rights legislation. There will always be a fight made against it by congressional segregationists and the Administration will get nowhere by trying to appease these extreme racists. The need for new legislation to assure equal rights is evident. No time is better than now to fight for it."

Chiding Mr. Wilkins for his unwillingness "to bide his time," the Somerset, Pa., *American* accuses him of being "perfectly willing to tie up all other legislation in order to have a civil rights battle now. We appreciate the feeling of the NAACP leader, but feel that more can be gained through diplomacy than on the battle field."

Expressing doubt that the Freedom Train trip to Washington will produce any immediate legislative results, the Rochester, N. Y., *Democrat and Chronicle* comments: "There is no visible acceptance of the wait-a-while attitude among NAACP members. Rather the feeling seems to be well expressed by the NAACP counsel, Thurgood Marshall: 'The Negroes have been cooling off too long a period.' So we can expect more freedom riding, more struggles to desegregate schools, beaches, lunch counters and other jim-crow areas. The impatience of the modern Negro with pleas of moderation and advice to let time help in the fight is understandable. Why should anyone have to wait for rights guaranteed to all equally?"

The New York *Amsterdam News* (July 22) sees in Mr. Marshall's speech a challenge to all Negroes to get into the Fight for Freedom. "If there's any doubt in anyone's mind as to just where the NAACP and forward-thinking Negroes stand on civil rights, we think that doubt was dispelled in Philadelphia last week by Thurgood Marshall, speaking at the 52nd Annual NAACP Convention."

The editorial quotes from the address and points out that "Mr. Marshall did not say that SOME Negroes by their actions must demonstrate what is in their minds. He said, ALL Negroes should do this. And finally, he did not say that the best way for Negroes to make their intentions clear is for some Negroes to take action, but he said that the only way to make this clear is to do it OURSELVES. And OURSELVES means all of US.

In other words, Mr. Marshall has placed the fight for freedom in its proper focus."

In a long analytical editorial, the Providence, R.I., *Journal* commenting on direct action versus legal and political action to secure civil rights observes that "the NAACP knows that its first and greatest task is to bring the Negro to a status of full equality before the law and that this can be accomplished only by working through the law—by obtaining application and interpretation of the law in the courts, by insisting on enforcement of the law by the executive, and most importantly of all, by preparing the way for the writing of new law through political action. The relationship of this campaign to the direct action movement was well stated by the Right Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood in the keynote address to the Philadelphia convention:

" 'The dramatic exposure of segregation practices and of law enforcement procedures is useful in awakening a complacent public opinion among white and Colored Americans,' said the bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Washington, who is chairman of the NAACP board of directors. 'But to suggest that its function in the great war goes much beyond this is to confuse a signal flare with a barrage. . . . We are too old in the ways of the long struggle that has engaged our fathers and forefathers not to realize that wars are won by using every available military resource, and not by the employment of raiding parties.' "

The editorial concludes: "There are many areas—first and always, voter registration and resistance to infringement of Negro voting rights—where only the NAACP has the organization, the talent and the experience to do the job."

Representative Adam Clayton Powell's labor dinner address drew the plaudits of the Columbus, Ohio, *Sentinel* (July 27) which says that "it isn't often that we find ourselves in a position to give an enthusiastic Amen to anything said or done by the dapper New York Congressman. . . . But his recent threat to bottle up all legislation favoring craft unions until 'they get in step with democracy,' compels us to give him a resounding Amen."

Heartily supporting the Powell position, the editorial concludes: "So we say more power to Mr. Powell, for if other Negroes in powerful government positions had taken the same firm stand, we would be further ahead in the long hard struggle for first-class citizenship."

The convention's resolutions on the Freedom Rides, the KKK, the Black Muslims and the John Birth Society are hailed by the Michigan *Chronicle* (July 29) as welcome re-affirmation of the Association's commitment to democratic principles.

"At a time when the momentum in the fight for first-class citizenship has reached the highest level in the history of the nation, it is significant that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should make it clear that the perpetuation of the American democracy and the inclusion of all of our citizens in its benefits is the real goal of those who fight for freedom," the editorial says.

College and School News

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE researchers are supported by nearly $300,000 in annual grants from government, philanthropy, American industry, and institutional support, according to a recent issue of *Bulletin* published by the college. There are 28 current research projects at the college, with 18 principal investigators.

■

JARVIS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE has been awarded $107,640, for the academic year 1961-62, to be applied to the National Defense Student Loan Fund.

■

BENEDICT COLLEGE recently named two new buildings: new men's dormitory Goodson Hall in honor of M. W. Goodson, an alumnus who died in 1958 and left $100,000 in Alabama real estate to become the property of the college upon the death of his widow.

The Julia Starks Hall was named in honor of the widow of Benedict's first Negro president, Dr. J. J. Starks.

■

"Strategy for Peace and Freedom" was theme of the 41st annual meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held June 26-30 on the St. Paul Campus, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

■

Benedict senior Nancy Gallman will spend her senior year studying at the University of Paris on a UNESCO scholarship.

■

Harry Golden, editor and author of Charlotte, N. C., was baccalaureate speaker at commencement of the BETHESEDA-CHEVY CHASE HIGH SCHOOL, Bethesda, Maryland.

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One hundred SCARSDALE college and high school students sponsored a benefit party on June 17 to raise money for the legal defense of the "Freedom Riders." Idea for the party originated with Lawrence Horowitz and Thomas Bratter, two Columbia University seniors, and Richard Kostelanetz, Brown '62.

■

The beauty, variety, and vigor of the cultural achievements of Africa are dramatically emphasized in a new temporary exhibition of traditional masks, wood carvings, metal work, and richly embroidered textiles at the Corner Gallery of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY which opened on June 15.

One hundred and ninety-six selected high school students from sixteen states took an intensive four-week training program in astronomy and space science at the The American Museum-Hayden Planetarium this summer.

■

Two outstanding June graduates of HOWARD UNIVERSITY have been awarded four-year medical scholarships by National Medical Fellowships, Inc., in a program aimed at "relieving the critical shortage of Negro physicians and surgeons in the United States."

Russell L. Miller, Jr., Washington, D. C., and Donald C. Roane, Baltimore, Md., were among nine students from throughout the country named by the non-profit organization to receive the annual awards, which range up to $1,250 each.

■

Bernardin F. Dabney, director of public relations at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, has been appointed to the newly-created administrative post of

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assistant to the president in special activities. Harry Jefferson, dormitory counselor, has been appointed commissioner for the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association. This is the first time a commissioner has been appointed by the CIAA.

VSC was host July 11-13 to the annual family and community improvement institute, and on June 26-30 to the annual state conference of vocational and practical arts teachers.

Dr. Harry A. Johnson, professor of education and director of the VSC audio-visual center, has been granted a two-year leave to be chief of party and communications media advisor to the government of Sierra Leone, West Africa.

■

Dr. Emory Ross was commencement speaker at TOUGALOO CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. Richard Jones, '60, has received a Protestant Fellowship award from the Fund for Theological Education, Inc., to study toward his B.D. degree at Colgate Rochester Divinity School.

■

Vasily C. Cateforis, a young student from Athens, Greece, completed his undergraduate at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE with a cumulative average of 3.92, the highest at the school in its ninety-four-year history.

Fellowships, scholarships, assistantships, and internships totaling thirty-eight have been offered to twenty-seven Morgan graduates. Four graduates from previous years are included in the total.

■

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, head of the department of history at Howard, has established an annual cash prize for the outstanding history major at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY. The annual cash prize is equal to a year's tuition fee and is named for Dr. Logan's deceased parents, Arthur C. and Martha Whittington Logan.

The university was host July 24-August 11 to the second annual summer on the minister and the Christian church; on June 12-17, the Virginia Council of United Church Women; and on June 11-13, the tenth annual national convention of the Future Business Leaders of America.

■

Twenty-eight Negroes have been awarded opportunity fellowships for 1961 by the JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION. In the twelve years the program has been in operation, awards have been made to 276 Negroes. These awards are granted to young men and women who show exceptional promise and who have been prevented by race, cultural background or region or residence from fully developing their potentialities.

■

An honorary LL.D. degree was conferred upon Perry Brooks Jackson, judge of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, Cleveland,

NEGRO HERITAGE

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Ohio, by WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY at its 135th annual commencement. Judge Jackson, who has long been active in community affairs, was appointed a judge of the Cleveland municipal court in 1942 and has served since that time in both city and county courts.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY dean of chapel, Lawrence N. Jones, was awarded the Ph.D. degree in June by Yale University. Isaiah T. Creswell, Fisk comptroller, has been named to the editorial advisory board of College and University Business, a national publication reflecting the business interests and practices of higher education.

Dr. Samuel Proctor Massie, Jr., chairman of the chemistry department, but now on leave with the Special Projects in Science at the National Science Foundation, has been honored as one of six outstanding college chemistry teachers during the 89th annual meeting of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association.

The nation's leading civil-rights attorney, a noted scholar in civil-war and reconstruction history, a University of Chicago theologian, and a southern political scientist and author were the nucleus of twenty-four authorities in race relations who served as lecturer and resource consultants to the 18th annual Race Relations Institute June 19-July 1.

■

James R. Smothers, Jr., is new director of the division of educational services of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND. This division conducts central educational and advisory services for the UNCF's 32 member colleges and universities.

Three winners—Willa Robertson, Tougaloo; Marion Mackie, Xavier; and Thurmond Snyder, LeMoyne—of the *Reader's Digest*—UNCF creative writing contest were feted in June by the magazine and the college fund in New York City.

■

A highlight of the 1961 series of NEW YORK UNIVERSITY's third annual summer concert series was the concert performance on July 24 of *The Barrier*, an American opera in two acts with a libretto by Langston Hughes and music by Jan Meyerowitz. The musical drama is based on Mr. Hughes' play, *The Mulatto*, and was produced for the first time in 1950 by the Columbia University Opera Workshop.

■

African visitors to Boston next October will be entertained in a series of private house parties given by Greater Boston residents.

Twenty-four Greater Bostonians have been named to the hospitality and entertainment subcommittee of the Boston sponsoring committee for the eighth national conference of the U. S. National Committee for

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UNESCO, arranged in cooperation with BOSTON UNIVERSITY, to be held in Boston October 22-26.

■

Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Michigan was commencement speaker at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY.

Dr. William S. Jackson is new dean of the AU school of social work. He assumed his duties on September 1. Thirty-five students received the degree of Master of Social Work on June 5.

Dr. Harding B. Young succeeds Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield as dean of the school of business administration. Dr. Westerfield resigned as dean to be placed on leave as professor of business administration in order to accept an appointment in the U. S. Treasury Department.

Dr. Tilman Cothran, editor of *Phylon* and chairman of the department of sociology, will participate in Operation-Crossroads Africa. Mrs. Carrie Lee Spencer, an M.A. candidate in sociology, has received a teaching-assistantship in the department of sociology at the University of Wisconsin for the academic year 1961-62. Dr. George Riley, professor of biology, has received a grant of $33,331 from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the coming three years. The money is to support research on "Electrophoretic Studies of Mammalian Plasma Proteins."

■

Cornelius L. Golightly, an associate professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, is the first Negro to win the city-wide race for the Milwaukee school board.

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The American Negro in College, 1960-1961

THIS is the 50th annual educational number to be published by *The Crisis*, and in it is presented information and statistics gathered from the Negro colleges and universities covering the scholastic year 1960-1961.

This survey includes information from the Negro colleges only, since "mixed schools" no longer keep records of their students by race.

We must state once more that this information is not complete, since *The Crisis* has neither the means nor the staff to make a scientific survey. Our information has been gathered by questionnaires returned to us by the registrars of the schools circularized.

Information collected by *The Crisis* indicates a total enrollment of 68,184 students in the 50 institutions reporting. Last year 60 schools reported an enrollment of 68,296 students.

Of the graduates, 6,708 received various types of bachelor's degrees; 435, various types of master's degrees; and 210, doctorates and other beyond master's degrees.

Meharry Medical College graduated 19 bachelor's in nursing; 5 with certificates in medical technology; 6 with the diploma in dental hygiene; and 78 with doctorates or other beyond master's degrees.

Howard University awarded 91 master's degrees and 132 doctorate and other beyond master's degrees. No breakdown of the latter was given.

Detailed information about honor graduates and statistics of enrollment and the number of degrees granted follow:

Highest honor graduate at West Virginia State College was Jane Welch Rollins, summa cum laude. Miss Welch is one of the 91 whites in a graduating class of 178. The other 87 were Negroes.

Frederica Merry, daughter of F. Luther Merry of the Sumner High School, St. Louis, Mo., received her

Phyllis Dogan
Cum laude
V. U. Univ.

Gloria Smith
Honors
Morristown

Stephen Nagbe
Honors
Int. Theol. Cen.

Walter Pace
Doctorate
Wayne State

Veronica Gouveia
Honors
Tuskegee

Ortygia Allen
Honors
Johnson C. Smith

Jane Garlington
Honors
Wm. Penn Bus.

Lena Helton
Honors
Johnson C. Smith

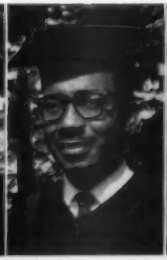
Yvonne McGlockton
Honors
Savannah State

Shirley Thompson
Honors
Wm. Penn Bus.

Cecil Cogleton
Honors
Wm. Penn Bus.

Vicki Scott
Honors
WM. Penn Bus.

Leon Thompkins
Highest honors
Morehouse



Howard Powell
Honors
S. C. State

A. W. Graham
Honors
Morris Brown

Connie Lee
Honors
Lane

Willie Burris
Honors
AM&N, Pine Buff

Jefferson Owens
Honors
Knoxville

Ernestine Slade
Summa cum laude
Barber-Scotia

Henry Womack
Honors
Alcorn

Ruby Hamilton
Honors
Clark

Buford Gibson
Honors
Fla. A&M

Lillian Clare
Honors
Benedict

Benerlyn Hardy
Honors
Benedict

Sara Lewis
Honors
LeMoyne

B.S. degree from Bradley University, Peoria, Ill., in June.

Walter T. Pace, instructor in education at Fayetteville State Teachers College since 1955, was awarded the Ed. D. degree by Wayne University on June 22.

Phyllis B. Dogan, cum laude and highest ranking student in the 1961 graduating class at Virginia Union, had an overall average of 2.49 on a 3-point system. She was a mathematics major and participated in many extra-curricular activities, including Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority.

Earl Stanley Herr was the highest honor graduate at Howard. He majored in chemistry and graduated summa cum laude. Texas Southern graduated three magna cum laude: Dianna Lou Lott, Lois Sampson, and Amy Wilson. Joseph Chevalier was highest honor graduate at Southern University.

Buford Gibson, Alvin Fridie and William Larkins were highest honor graduates at Florida A&M University. Rebecca Forbes is highest honor graduate at Virginia State, Vasily Christos Cateforis of Athens, Greece, at Morgan State, and Kathryn Weisner, summa cum laude, at Prairie View A&M.

Jean Jennings
Honors
Huston-Tillotson

Verna Johnson
Honors
Huston Tillotson

William Larkins
Honors
Fla. A&M

Alvin Fridie
Honors
Fla. A&M

Fannie Williams
Highest honors
Claflin

Richard Counts
Honors
Benedict

George Lairson
Honors
Benedict

Doris Gordon
Honors
Benedict

Henrietta Smith
Honors
Benedict

Amy Wilson
Magna cum laude
Texas Southern

Levi Montgomery
Highest honors
Fayetteville

Frederica Merry
B. S.
Bradley

Addo Quaynor
Honors
Philander Smith

Marie Hogue
Honors
Ky. State

Vasily Cateforis
Highest honors
Morgan State

Grambling's highest honor graduate was Gladys Joseph; at South Carolina State, Harold Powell. Veronica Gouveia was highest honor graduate at Tuskegee and Mrs. Mildred Patterson at Central State. Mrs. Patterson graduated summa cum laude.

Willie Burris graduated summa cum laude at Agricultural M&N at Pine Bluff and Mrs. Catherine Leidecker at District of Columbia Teachers College.

Gertrude Fraser was highest honor graduate at Hampton, Esley Ambrose at Jackson State, Elizabeth McGlockton at Savannah State, Viola Parker at Winston-Salem, and Antoinette Graham at Morris Brown.

Highest honor graduates at Johnson C. Smith were Ortygia Mae Allen and Lena Helton, magna cum laude; at Clark, Mrs. Ruby Hamilton; at Fayetteville, Levi Montgomery and Mrs. Winifred Jones Butler; at Alcorn A&M, Henry Womack; at Morehouse, Leon Thomkins; and Jefferson Owens at Knoxville.

Lillian Clare, Beverlyn Hardy, George Lawson, Richard Counts, Henrietta Smith and Doris Gordon were honor graduates at Benedict.

Thomas Addo Quaynor of Ghana, West Africa, graduated magna cum laude from Philander Smith. He is a member of Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society and has been named a fellow for 1961-62 to Southern Illinois University.

Samuel Sharper was highest honor graduate at Bethune-Cookman, Eliza Perry at Edward Waters, and Marie Hogue at Kentucky State.

Spelman College's highest honor graduate was Mrs. Delores Betts Stephens, and Shaw's Elizabeth Sifford.

Charlotte Gaither was highest honor graduate at Livingstone, Beatrice Brown at Bennett, Sara Lee Lewis at LeMoyne, Connie Yvonne Lee at Lane, and Mrs. Gloria Waters Arnell at Delaware State.

Faye Jennings, Verna Johnson and Ella Coe were honor graduates at Huston-Tillotson.

Meharry Medical College reports the following highest honor graduates: Van Rudolph Robinson, School of Dentistry; Nancy Bailey, School of Nursing; Henry Smith, School of Medical Technology; James Densler, School of Medicine; and Celestine Betts, Division of Dental Hygiene.

Fannie Williams graduated summa cum laude from Claflin; Abdul Aziz Jalloh received highest honors at Lincoln (Pa.); and Mary Ann Pendleton was highest honor graduate at Talladega. Miss Pendleton, an English ma-

Mrs. B. Leidecker
Highest honors
D. C. Teachers

Mrs. W. Arnell
Highest honors
Delaware State

Deanna Lott
Magna cum laude
Texas Southern

Linda Brown
Highest honors
Bennett

Mrs. Betts Stephens
Highest honors
Spelman

jor from Bessemer, Alabama, was a student counselor, a resident of Honor House for Selected Senior Women, a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, and a member of the campus YWCA and the Little Theatre.

Dorothy Crawford was highest honor graduate at Florida Normal, Gloria Jean Smith at Morristown, Marie Smith at Shorter Junior, and Stephen Nagbe at Interdenominational Theological Center. Mrs. Vivienne C. Bernardino was highest honor graduate at Cheyney State College.

Esley Ambrose
Highest honors
Jackson State

Ruth Crosse
Highest honors
Maryland State

Kathryne Weisner
Summa cum laude
Prairie View

(TURN TO PAGE 430f. FOR STATISTICS)

DEFEAT:

On a train in Texas German prisoners eat
With white American soldiers, seat by seat,
While black American soldiers sit apart,
The white men eating meat, the black men heart.
Now, with that other war a century done,
Not the live North but the dead South has won,
Not yet a riven nation comes awake.
Whom are we fighting this time, for God's sake?
Mark well the token of the separate seat.
It is again ourselves whom we defeat.

WITTER BYNNER

Reprinted by permission of Mr. Witter Bynner from his volume *Take Away the Darkness.*

STATISTICS

ENROLLMENT

School	Total	Under-Grad.	Graduate	Bachelors'	Masters'
Howard	6910	4646	723	445	91
Texas Southern	6444	5983	461	147	15
Southern	4724	4519	205	486	17
Florida A&M	3242	2979	263	393	112
Virginia State	2838	2755	83	237	26
Morgan	2791	2791	.....	262	.....
Prairie View	2705	2551	154	182	14
Grambling	2564	2564	.....	282	.....
S. Carolina State	2389	1156	1233	148	70
W. Va. State	2251	2251	.....	178	
Tuskegee	2152	1977	175	196	51
Central State	1928	1928	.....	174	.....
Pine Bluff A&M	1761	1761	.....	290	.....
D. C. Teachers	1565	805	760	92	29
Jackson State	1408	1370	38	335	4
Hampton	1402	1348	54	191	6
Virginia Union	1188	1165	23	141	.....
Savannah State	1126	1126	.....	92	.....
Winston Salem	1094	1094	.....	141	.....
Morris Brown	997	997	.....	105	.....
Johnson C. Smith	909	875	34	102	.....
Clark	895	895	.....	77	.....
Fayetteville	888	888	.....	99	.....
Alcorn	875	875	.....	177	.....
Cheyney State	847	847	.....	143	.....
Morehouse	835	835	.....	108	.....
Benedict	799	799	.....	100	.....
Knoxville	720	720	.....	64	.....
Philander Smith	706	706	.....	43	.....
Bethune-Cookman	702	702	.....	142	.....
Edward Waters	700	700	.....	60	.....
Kentucky State	653	653	.....	84	.....
Spelman	642	642	.....	75	.....
Shaw	600	600	.....	84	.....
Livingstone	586	564	22	74	.....
Bennett	555	555	.....	102	.....
LeMoyne	542	542	.....	66	.....
St. Augustine's	520	520	.....	70	.....
Lane	511	511	.....	63	.....
Huston-Tillotson	479	479	.....	60	.....
Meharry*	396	396	.....	.....	.....
Claflin	393	393	.....	51	.....

ENROLLMENT (*Continued*)

School	*Total*	*Under-Grad.*	*Graduate*	*Bachelors'*	*Masters'*
Delaware State	386	386	.....	60	.....
Talladega	373	373	.....	69	.....
Lincoln (Pa.)	360	360	.....	54	.....
Florida NIM	302	302	.....	71	.....
Morristown	164	164	.....	48	.....
Shorter Jr.	137	137	.....	.....	.....
Interdemonimational Theological Center	122	.....	122	22	.....
Butler	108	108	.....	23	.....
Totals	68,184	61,446	4,350	6,708	435

HONORARY DEGREES

School	*Degree*	*Number Conferred*
Howard	Doctor of Science	1
	Doctor of Laws	2
Virginia State	Doctor of Laws	2
	Certificate of Merit	1
Morgan	Doctor of Laws	3
	Doctor of Humanities	1
	Doctor of Business Administration	1
	Doctor of Pedagogy	1
West Virginia State	Doctor of Laws	2
	Doctor of Humanities	2
	Doctor of Pedagogy	1
Central State	Doctor of Divity	1
	Doctor of Humanities	1
	Doctor of Laws	1
	Doctor of Music	1
	Doctor of Science	1
Virginia Union	Doctor of Divinity	2
	Doctor of Laws	1
Johnson C. Smith	Doctor of Divinity	2
	Doctor of Laws	1
	Doctor of Science	1
Morehouse	Doctor of Laws	1
Benedict	Doctor of Divinity	1
	Doctor of Humane Letters	3
	Doctor of Pedagogy	1
Bethune-Cookman	Doctor of Laws	1
	Doctor of Humanities	1

*Meharry is a professional school.

School	*Degree*	*Number Conferred*
Edward Waters	Doctor of Divinity	3
	Doctor of Letters	2
Shaw	Doctor of Laws	2
	Doctor of Divinity	1
Livingstone	Doctor of Divinity	3
	Doctor of Letters	1
St. Augustine's	Doctor of Humane Letters	2
	Doctor of Laws	2
Lane	Doctor of Divinity	1
Claflin	Doctor of Letters	1
Delaware State	Doctor of Humane Letters	1
Lincoln (Pa.)	Doctor of Divinity	1
	Doctor of Humane Letters	2
	Doctor of Laws	3
Florida N&I	Doctors of Laws	1
	Doctor of Humane Letters	1
	Total	64

Grand total of graduates, including all degrees both earned and honorary, as well as miscellaneous diplomas and certificates 8,315

Charlotte Gaither
Honors
Livingstone

Ella Sampson
Magna cum laude
Texas Southern

Mary Pendleton
Honors
Talladega

Ann Matthews
Honors
Central State

Gladys Joseph
Honors
Grambling

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NATIONAL GUARD

IN light of the Berlin crisis, the continued exclusion of Negroes from National Guard units in southern states "comes very close to being sabotage of the national interest," Roy Wilkins warns in a letter to President Kennedy.

The letter, dispatched to the White House on August 3, urges that "appropriate steps be taken without delay to insure the inclusion, on a non-discriminatory basis, of all citizens in all aspects of the spiritual and physical mobilization you have ordered."

Recalling the President's declaration: "Any dangerous spot is tenable if brave men will make it so," in his July 25 address to the nation, Mr. Wilkins pointed out that "Negro Americans ask simply that they be given the opportunity to fit themselves, in honor, to join the company of brave men who will resist the enfilading of our position and make our danger spot tenable."

The denial of National Guard enlistment and training, the NAACP leader told the President, is "a particularly humiliating insult to Negro citizens since it rejects in a crude and summary fashion the gifts (including their lives) which they would place at the disposal of their country in the event of national emergency."

Moreover, he added, "it is at variance with the national policy with respect to the acceptance, training and advancement of Negro personnel in the armed services."

In this critical period, Mr. Wilkins asserted, "the nation is in need of the support of every citizen . . . and no state or group of states would seem to have the right to place its regional traditions above the national welfare.

"The threat to our country is not one to the North or to the South, to black or to white, to rich or to poor, to farmer or to city dweller. It is total."

PRINCE EDWARD SCHOOLS STILL CLOSED

DESPITE uncontested testimony and evidence that the Prince Edward County public school system was abolished for the sole purpose of circumventing court-decreed desegregation, United States District Judge Oren R. Lewis has made it clear that he will not now order the reopening of public schools in that Southside Virginia county.

Judge Lewis indicated his position near the end of the three-and-a-half day trial which closed in the Federal District Court in Richmond, Va., on July 27. He reached this conclusion, he said, in the absence of a demonstrated federal constitutional requirement that local and state governments maintain a system of free public schools. The question as to whether the Virginia constitution requires the maintenance of public schools is one to be determined by state courts, he asserted.

NAACP attorneys Robert L. Carter of New York City and S. W. Tucker of Richmond and Emporia, Va., contended in their arguments that the issue before the court was not the constitutional responsibility to maintain public schools but rather the constitutional prohibition against official local or state action to thwart a federal court order or to deprive Negroes of their constitutional rights. Mr. Carter cited five cases in which courts have banned such intervention.

SEVENTH DISTRICT COMMITTEE *which planned testimonial to Mrs. Barbara Marx, long-time supervisor 7th District, Va., and to William West, district secretary. Committee paid half life membership of two honorees. Pictured, from L seated, are Tate Valentine, co-chairman; W. A. West, honoree; Mrs. Barbara Marx, honoree; Louis Boone, co-chairman; standing, Mrs. Beatrice Washington, Dr. E. B. Henderson, Mrs. Esther Cooper, Mrs. Beatrice Ritchie, Mrs. Kathryn Butler, and William Jackson. Committee members not pictured are Mrs. E. B. Henderson, Mrs. Edith Turner, and Mrs. Dorothy Hamm.*

Maurice Sorrell

IVYETTES CHARITY CLUB *of Philadelphia, Pa., presents $200 final installment on its NAACP life membership to branch executive secretary James K. Baker. Pictured, from L, sitting, are Elizabeth Turner, president; Mr. Baker; Ethel Lanar, treasurer; standing, Mattie Parker, Sara Norfleet, Alberta Braxton, Lillian Bass, Mary Dupree, and Marian Murphy, recording secretary.*

Arrayed against the NAACP attorneys who represented the Prince Edward County Negro children and their parents was a battery of six lawyers defending the local school board, the county Board of Supervisors, and the State of Virginia.

The public schools in the county have been closed since the end of the 1958-59 school year. "Private" schools, sponsored by the Prince Edward School Foundation, have afforded education for the county's 1500 white school-age children. The 1700 colored children, save for some 200 fortunate enough to secure admission to schools out of the county, have been without formal education for the past two years.

The NAACP lawyers called more than a score of witnesses and filed with the court 26 documents as exhibits in support of their charge that the local and state agencies had taken a series of actions "for the sole purpose

of circumventing and frustrating the enforcement of the order of this court requiring the racial desegregation of the public schools of Prince Edward County, in violation of the rights of these plaintiffs and the class they represent . . ."

Among the uncontested documents introduced was a resolution adopted by the County Board of Supervisors on May 3, 1956, declaring "it to be the policy and intention of said board in accordance with the will of the people of said county that no tax levy shall be made upon the said people nor public revenue derived from local taxes shall be appropriated for the operation and maintenances of public schools in said county wherein white and colored children are taught together under any plan or arrangement whatsoever."

The witnesses and the documents disclosed the following steps officially taken to circumvent the court's desegregation order:

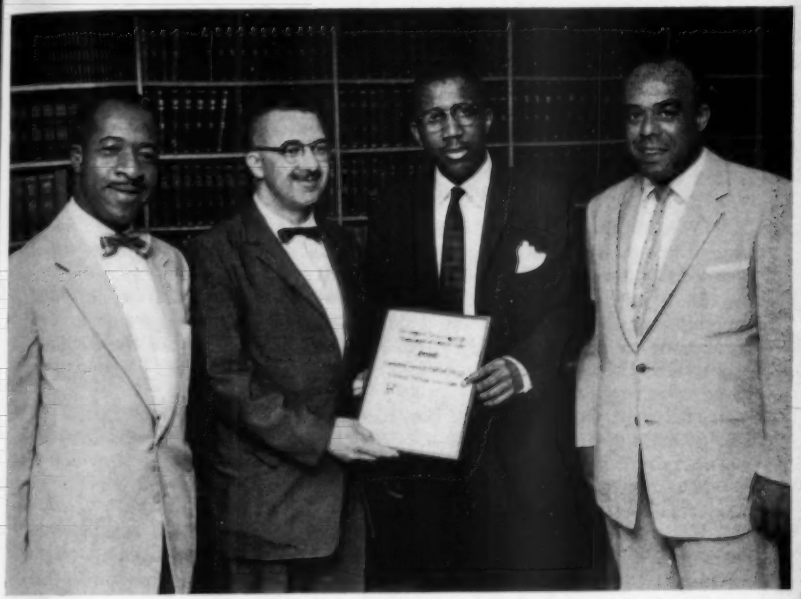
- The abolition of the public school system in the county.
- The refusal of the Board of Supervisors to levy any taxes for school purposes.
- The establishment by the Board of Supervisors of $100 tuition grants to pupils attending "private" segregated schools in the county.
- The utilization of state tuition grants of $125 for elementary and $150 for high school students.
- The granting of tax credits up to 25 per cent of their personal property and real estate taxes to persons making contributions to "private" schools in the county.
- The inclusion of teachers employed by the "private" Prince Edward School Foundation in the state teachers retirement fund.

The tax credits, the tuition grants and the inclusion of the Foundation school teachers in the public school teachers retirement fund all subverted the Foundation's claim to be a "private" educational institution, the NAACP attorneys asserted. They asked the court to enjoin the use of such funds to support the Foundation schools.

J. Segar Gravatt, attorney for the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors, maintained that these benefits were available to Negro children attending the morale-building centers sponsored by the Prince Edward County Christian Association headed by the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, NAACP coordinator in the county. These centers, he asserted, are "good faith" educational institutions. Parents of the 600 children attending these centers were prevented from accepting the tuition grants by the NAACP, he charged.

To support his contentions, Mr. Gravatt called as witnesses the Rev. Mr. Griffin and supervisors of six of the 14 centers. They all testified that the centers did not meet the standards required for qualifying as schools. To accept tuition grants for attending these centers, Mr. Griffin testified, "would be defrauding somebody."

Questioned by Judge Lewis, Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Virginia State Superintendent of Public Instruction, admitted that the PECCA centers do not qualify as schools approved to receive state tuition grants.



FREEDOM "MEDICS"—*Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary, presents a scroll to the Manhattan, N. Y., Central Medical Society of the National Medical Association. NAACP cited group for its "role in investigating and publicizing the health and welfare needs of distressed sharecroppers in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee." Pictured, from L, are Dr. Seyton Benpham, Dr. Morsell, Dr. Charles Brown, president, and Dr. Kenneth Topping.*

Mrs. Mary Cheatham, who processes the county tuition grants, testified that of the 1363 county tuition grants last year all but five went to white pupils attending the Foundation schools. The five went to Negro chilren for out-of-county schooling.

Among witnesses called by the NAACP were four teenage Prince Edward County children, two of whom last year attended a public school in another Virginia county. One went to school in Yellow Springs ,Ohio, on a Friends Service Committee scholarship. The fourth has had no formal training since the closing of the schools. They were Grace Poindexter, Ada Allen, David Patterson and Ernestine Land.

Also called to testify was Mrs. Mildred Patterson, mother of eight children, four of whom had been compelled to leave the county in order to continue their education.

Before the end of the trial, Judge Lewis said he expected to hand down his decision possibly in August and certainly before the opening of the school year. He appeared to be giving serious consideration to invalidating the county tax credits, the county tuition payments and possibly the state tuition grants in Prince Edward County. He anticipated that whatever ruling he rendered would be appealed to higher courts by one side or the other.

URGES ICC TO ACT

THE Association has urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to adopt and issue the regulations governing non-discrimination in interstate travel proposed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

In a letter to the ICC, July 19, 1961, Robert L. Carter, NAACP general counsel, calls upon the federal agency to "promulgate rules and regulations to insure the right of interstate passengers to use the facilities of carriers, subject to the jurisdiction of the ICC, without discrimination based upon race and color."

This right, the letter points out, has been firmly "established since 1955 when the Commission decided *NAACP v. St. Louis & San Francisco Ry. Co.* and *Keys v. Carolina Coach Company.*" Another NAACP case, *Boynton v. Virginia,* "would seem to require all such restaurants to adopt a policy of equal treatment," the letter asserts.

Nevertheless, Mr. Carter told the ICC, the NAACP has continued to receive compaints "that some railroad carriers were still assigning Negro passengers to segregated cars throughout the South and, for example, that the Illinois Central Railroad was still directing Negroes to segregated cars at Chicago, the point of origin, for trips into the South.

"We have also received complaints of persons being threatened and subjected to violence for attempting to exercise their right to use interstate motor bus facilities without discrimination in many areas in the South, particularly on trips that traversed Mississippi."

It is the view of the NAACP, the Association's general counsel said, "that by promulgating the rules and regulations as suggested by the Department of Justice that the Commission will make unmistakably clear to all carriers and their employees that they are under a duty and an obligation to enforce a policy of non-discrimination in the use of their facilities."

Mr. Carter indicated a desire to present oral argument before the Commission in support of the Attorney General's proposals.

SAVANNAH NEGROES RESUME SHOPPING

SAVANNAH's 60,000 Negro citizens began shopping in 18 downtown stores in July after an absence of 15 months, marking a high point in NAACP history there.

The "no buying" drive, sponsored by the NAACP, was launched in March of last year after several Negro students had been arrested for staging

sit-ins against segregated lunch counters. These counters have now been integrated.

A citizens committee, appointed by Mayor Malcolm McLean, negotiated with NAACP officials under leadership of W.W. Law, president of the local and state NAACP units. Mr. Law also serves on the Association's National Board of Directors. A settlement opening the lunch counters to all customers was agreed upon.

Mrs. Mercedes Wright, co-chairman of the "Committee for Withholding Retail patronage" reported that the Negro community is "extremely happy" and that 3,000 attended the victory mass meeting at St. Phillip's AME Church.

The 15-month NAACP drive in this 228 year old seaport city in Georgia, the population of which is one-third Negro, has had many by-products:

- Negro voter registration is climbing and now stands at 12,500.
- Two Negro bus drivers have been hired for the first time.
- Jim crow signs have been removed from buses.
- NAACP members have seated themselves in the front of buses without incident, thereby encouraging the rest of the Negro community to follow suit.
- City park facilities have been opened on a non-segregated basis following arrest of seven Negroes for playing basketball in previously all-white Macon Park. This action followed an NAACP petition of protest.
- Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, NAACP official (uncle of Hamilton E. Holmes, first Negro to enroll at the University of Georgia) was named by the city council to a five-man park commission.
- One downtown variety store has been closed and two men's shops have moved out of the main shopping district, although both said their actions had nothing to do with the NAACP withholding drive.
- The Cloverdale, Ghana and Springfield Park segregated housing developments for Negroes are begging for tenants.

URGE HALT OF GEORGIA PURGE

ROY WILKINS has called upon Postmaster General J. Edward Day "to reject the efforts originating in the Post Office personnel in Georgia to accomplish the dismissal of Wesley W. Law from his post as letter carrier in Savannah."

Mr. Law, a member of the NAACP Board of Directors and head of the organization in Georgia, led a successful 15-month withholding of patronage campaign against downtown merchants because they refused to serve Negro customers at their lunch counters or to employ colored workers except in menial jobs. A settlement on July 6 opened the lunch counters to colored patrons and assured them better employment opportunities.

The efforts to oust Mr. Law from his postal job are believed to stem from his role in the selective buying campaign and in other civil rights

NAACP BENEFIT PREMIERE—*Some of the notables who attended special Boston, Mass., premiere of Lorraine Hansberry's* A Raisin in the Sun: *from L, Edward Cooper, executive secretary Boston branch; Benjamin Sack, president Sack Theaters; Robert Tuve, Fair Housing Federation; Lt. Governor Edward McLaughlin; Mrs. Baron H. Martin II; Atty. Edward Brooke, chairman Boston Finance Commission; and Franklin Holgate, treasurer Buffred, Inc. Benefit was co-sponsored by the Fair Housing Federation of Greater Boston and the Boston NAACP. All proceeds of the sell-out performance went to the Boston branch.*

activities. For the government to "become a partner in economic reprisal against" an employee for his civil rights activity, Mr. Wilkins told the Postmaster, would be to give "a sanction they do not deserve" to private individuals and organizations seeking to curb the Negro's militancy.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: LOS ANGELES branch member the Rev. John H. Owens has recently been promoted to the volunteer position of deputy district coordinator, District 29, of the Los Angeles Civil Defense and Disaster Corps. Rev. Owens took scientific courses in order to qualify himself for his volunteer duties.

Florida: First sit-in demonstrations of the WINTER HAVEN branch were held in conjunction with Polk county in an attempt to integrate local lunch counters at McCrory's five-and-ten. Among the active participants were Glenda Williams, Juanita Johnson, Edna Mae Timmons, Beatrice Moore, Bernice Kelly, Council Miller, Jr., and Judy Miller.

According to a report of the Florida State Conference, NAACP youth councils are on the increase in the state. Two new councils have been organized in Miami. Other councils are located in Pompano Beach, West Palm Beach, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Tampa, Orange County, Tallahassee, Pensacola, Sarasota, and St. Petersburg. All four colleges in the state have college chapters.

The Association has filed a suit calling for an end to racial discrimination at the new airport facilities in Tallahassee. The suit was filed on behalf of three ministers by Atty. G. E. Graves, Florida legal redress chairman.

Georgia: Jackie Robinson was principal speaker at a mass meeting held in DECATUR on April 16 in the Thankful Baptist Church. The meeting was sponsored by the DeKalb County Citizens Committee in a get-out-the vote campaign.

Illinois: Organized labor was one of the principal supporters of the annual freedom-fund dinner of the CHICAGO branch held on June 22. By June 16, six days before the dinner, labor had turned in more than $9,000 toward the $50,000 the dinner was expected to gross.

The Chicago branch issued the following statement on mob rule at Rainbow Beach:

"Again the City of Chicago is faced with embarrassment and ridicule because of the actions of a group of raucous racists who have taken it upon themselves to keep Rainbow Beach white.

"On Sunday, July 2, this group of bigots won a round over the Chicago Police Department and the efforts of the Chicago branch to break down racial barriers at Rainbow Beach. It wasn't the small group of Negro young people who caused the defeat for fair play and democracy on Sunday, but it was definitely the fault of the Chicago Police Department which had

MEMBERS OF THE GOTHAMETTES, INC., *New York City, present a check for their NAACP life membership to Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary. Pictured, from L, are Mrs. Georgia Mason, chairman dance committee; Mrs. Novella Simmons, treasurer; Herbert Wright; and Mrs. Gladys Randolph, chairman budget committee.*

assured adequate protection and firm enforcement of the law at Rainbow Beach as early as this past May.

"The facts on Sunday were these. A small group of Negro bathers appeared at Rainbow Beach at about 2:00 P.M. After about an hour in which there were no overt acts of racism, a mob of approximately 1,000 whites gathered and surrounded the group with staccatto clapping and stomping feet. A force of 100 patrolmen under the supervision of Chief Hackett of the Task Force and Captain Charles of the Grand Crossing Station were not able to handle the crowd and suggested that the Negro bathers leave the beach because their protection could not be assured. Because of this, and the size and climate of the senseless mob, the small group left the beach and the mob won the round. There were no arrests despite the fact that rocks were thrown and at least two persons were hit, the secretary to

THE LADIES OF ALPHA, *an auxiliary of the Zeta Omicron Lambda Chapter, Philadelphia, of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, make their final NAACP life membership payment of $350 to Dr. James P. Ramsey, chairman of the Philadelphia, Pa., branch life membership committee.*

the executive secretary of the Chicago Branch, Mrs. Arylene Watlington, and the Protestant Chaplain of the Chicago Police Department, Reverend Robert Holderby.

"But there are more rounds to come. It is our intention to continue to support efforts of our Youth Work Committee and Youth Councils to use Rainbow Beach until the battle for democracy at Chicago beaches is over. No amount of stomping feet, hand clapping, rock throwing, and verbal taunts will stop our efforts to gain access for all persons to use any of the public beaches of the City of Chicago.

"We urge for serious consideration that the Chicago Police Department substantially increase the detail at Rainbow Beach, that the detail be fully integrated and not tokenly integrated as it was on Sunday, July 2. We further recommend that the Chicago Park District integrate its lifeguard force at Rainbow Beach immediately. We finally urge that the Chicago Police Department make some arrests, for we fail to see how it is that taunts are made, crowds are amassed, and rocks are thrown and nobody arrested."

Branch executive secretary Carl A. Fuqua criticized station WBBM-TV for its recent editorial coverage of the Chicago public school system. He charged, in a letter, that the primary issues were avoided. Instead the program aired disciplinary problems rather than those defects within the system that foster such problems: over-crowding, double-shifts, triple-shifts, lack of libraries, etc.

Massachusetts: President Mrs. Melnea Cass of the BOSTON branch and Samuel A. Turner of Newton, president of the Fair Housing Federation of Greater Boston, jointly sponsored (with the cooperation of Benjamin Sack of Sack Theaters Corporation) a special New England premiere benefit performance of the movie version of Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun.*

Michigan: Executive secretary Arthur L. Johnson of the DETROIT branch addressed the Booker T. Washington Business Association on June 14 on the subject of "Hidden Costs in Racial Segregation."

Pennsylvania: Newly installed officers of the NORRISTOWN branch are Rev. L. S. McNeil, president; Ernest Hadrick, vice-president; John Mason, treasurer; Diane McClure, recording secretary; and Mrs. Frances Haynes, corresponding secretary.

Sara E. Stem, a student at the Eisenhower Senior High School, was recipient of the branch's NAACP award. This award, which was established by the branch, is worth $10 and goes to the student "who makes commendable progress through diligent effort and who displays a wholesome attitude toward his school, his classmates, and the faculty members."

On June 7 the PHILADELPHIA branch asked the Eastern District Federal Count to enjoin the Philadelphia school board from violating the constitutional rights of Negro children in local schools. The branch action was taken on behalf of pupils of Emlen School, Chew and Upsal Streets (School District 6), and "thousands of Negro minors within the school district of Philadelphia."

CLUB GUYS AND DOLLS, *Philadelphia, are shown making a $500 payment for an NAACP life membership to Philadelphia, Pa., branch treasurer William A. Young, Jr., (seated R) at the home of club secretary, Walter Campbell. Club president Howard Baynard makes the payment.*

In a petition filed by the branch, plaintiffs asked the court to issue a temporary injunction to restrain the Board of Education from denying and depriving them of equal protection of the law.

Named as defendants along with the Board of Education are Allen H. Wetter, board superintendent; John B. Taulane, and William M. Duncan, associate superintendent; and Ernest O. Kohl and Edward T. Myers, district superintendents.

The branch charges that the Board of Education has made certain rules and regulations which wrongfully and knowingly discriminate against Negro pupils because of their race and color, and deprive them of their constitutional rights. The policies of the Board, the branch argues, are harmful, damaging and injurious to the pupils.

Charges leveled by the branch petition include assignment of teachers to schools on a racial basis, establishment of school boundaries, controlling of pupil transfers from school to school, and changing the number of grades within certain schools for the purpose of creating or continuing racial segregation.

The legal action stems from a plan of the Board of Education, announced more than a year ago, to add six portable classrooms to the Emlen School to relieve overcrowding. The East Mt. Airy Civic Association, a neighborhood organization, protested that the planned classrooms would further expand the segregation pattern of the school (already 96 percent Negro), while at the same time white pupils living in the area were being transported by bus to less crowded institutions.

A report prepared by the neighborhood association states that the

MRS. LOLA JONES, *president of Alpha-Bettes, wives of Alpha Phi Alpha, Inc., presents check for its NAACP life membership to Randolph White, former NAACP public relations assistant, during a dance sponsored by the group. Shown on the picture are the clubs members and officers.*

Seattle Times

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, *NAACP officers and members washed cars in a community effort to unify the Seattle branch. In front, from L, are Sam Smith, state representative; Ed Russell, chairman Seattle branch credit union, and Charles Johnson, branch president. Other washers, from L, are Hascal Humes, Kendall Hobbs, Philip Burton, Kenneth Burton, age 9, Linda Burton, 11, Dell Durden, Dave Bown, Chipper Brooks, Don Alexander, chairman of the car-wash, and Jimmy Esclevon.*

Board of Education could alleviate the Emlen School overcrowding by managing transfers to nearby schools in District 6. The report reveals that several schools in the district are overcrowded while others are operating far under pupil capacity.

Overcrowded schools are listed as Day School, Crittenden and Johnson streets; Edmonds School, Sedgwick and Thouron streets; Fulton School, Haines avenue, east of Germantown avenue, and McCloskey School, Pickering street and Gowen avenue.

On the other hand, the report states, 150 pupils are being brought by bus to Jenks School, Germantown and Southampton avenues, and the school remains 20 per cent or 132 pupils below capacity. Over 230 pupils are being brought by bus to Houston School, Allen and Rural Lanes, from the Edmonds School area. Jenks and Houston Schools and Henry School, Carpenter Lane and Green street, have had seventh and eighth grades added. The report points out that the elementary schools are built with the expectation that they will provide for pupils through the sixth grade only.

If the Jenks, Houston and Henry Schools were restricted to the sixth grade, the report argues, they would be far below capacity and the change would provide ample space for the excess of pupils at Emlen School.

Johnson of Miami

REVEREND EDWARD T. GRAHAM, *pastor of the Mt. Zion Baptists Church, Miami, Florida, receives a plaque for his church's contribution to the life membership program of the NAACP from G. T. Graves (R), NAACP lawyer and chairman of the Florida legal committee.*

The report says the Pennypacker School, Washington Lane and Thouron street, has room for approximately 164 additional pupils. Kinsey School, 65th avenue and Limekiln Pike, has space for 452. Rowen School, 19th and Haines streets, could accommodate an additional 306. Pastorious School, Chelten avenue and Sprague street, could accept 423, and an additional 161 pupils could be housed in Wister School, Wakefield and Bringhurst street.

There is room for 1,850 pupils, the report states, more than enough to provide for all the overcrowding in every school in the district. The report said it is inconceivable that the Board of Education would rather spend badly needed money for additional classrooms when there is so much unused space.

The branch points out that the adult plaintiffs had asked the Board of

Ernest C. Withers

BONDS RETURN TO BROWNSVILLE—*The Bond family, which fled Brownsville, Tenn., twenty-two years ago, returned on May 7 to charter the Brownsville branch and to continue the work they had started and for which they suffered the burning of their home and exile. Pictured, from L, are Eddie Currie, president Haywood county, Tenn., branch; Vivian Bond Starks, St. Louis, Mo., Mattie T. Bond, New York City; Mildred Bond, New York City; Thomas Starks, Jr.; H. T. Larkhart, NAACP attorney; and Marian Bond Jordan, Pittsburgh, Pa.*

Education to change policies that were discriminatory, but the discriminatory practices have continued. Applications for transfers of Negro pupils to less racially segregated schools have been denied, the branch holds.

Attorneys for the NAACP are A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., president of the local branch; James K. Baker, executive secretary; William L. Akers, Oscar N. Gaskins, and Charles Andre Moore.

South Carolina: On Memorial Day, May 30, the SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES conducted memorial services from two cabin cruisers anchored leeward of Morris Island. The services were conducted by field secretary DeQuincey Newman they paid special tribute to

the enlistees and officers of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment (The Black Phalanx) who were killed during the battle of Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863.

The Union forces lost 1515 men, 247 of whom were colored. It is significant to note two sons of Frederick Douglass, Charles and Lewis, and their sister's fiancé, took part in this battle, one of the fiercest in civil war annals. The field secretary noted, further, that the Union soldiers killed in the battle of Fort Wagner lie buried in unmarked graves. No tablet of stone nor any other visible memorial indicates the final resting place of those soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice on the sands of Morris Island.

Some thirty state conference officers, officers of the Charleston branch, and NAACP staff members, made the pilgrimage to Morris Island and from the decks of their boats witnessed the planting of a wreath of palm leaves between the high water mark and the shoreline on the island, by J. Arthur Brown, state conference president and John Campbell. Campbell is a member of the youth work committee of the Charleston branch.

A much larger group had been expected to make the pilgrimage to Morris Island, but many were dissuaded from doing so because local newspapers had quoted the owner of the island as saying that persons setting foot there would be dealt with as trespassers. Those who did not make the trip had no way of knowing that the field secretary had come upon a solution to the problem created by the island owner. That is, the pilgrims would not invade the island but would plant the wreath beyond the high water mark. Property rights do not extend beyond that point. The wreath was planted at low tide.

Virginia: Rev. T. W. Morris of Bruington was speaker to four branches —WEST POINT, NEW KENT, KING WILLIAMS, and the counties of KING and QUEEN—which celebrated "Freedom Sunday" on May 21. The New Kent branch was host.

Washington: Role of the NAACP in SEATTLE was the theme of the first annual NAACP Institute held at the Eastside YWCA on May 27. Dr. Giovannia Costigan of the University of Washington was the main speaker, while Atty. Leonard Schroeter (formerly of the NAACP legal staff) gave the historical background of the Association.

The branch gave a successful "fashions for freedom" program on May 24 at the Chamber of Commerce.

Wisconsin: An NAACP sponsored civil-rights rally in MADISON in June drew about 200 persons to the steps of the State Capitol. There is racial discrimination throughout the state that should be eliminated, speakers told the rally.

"We want (legislative) action," the Rev. Oliver W. Gibson, Beloit, pastor of the Beloit Wesley Methodist Church, told the gathering of state Negro leaders.

The "non-violent demonstration for human rights laws" especially called

BACKING THEIR CONVICTIONS—*Members of Kansas City, Mo., youth council were arrested recently for demonstrating against jim-crow practices of Fairyland Amusement Park, largest in the city.*

for the passage of a fair housing proposal which is before the Legislature.

The turnout drew encouragement and support from Gov. Gaylord Nelson and Mrs. Rebecca C. Barton, director of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, as well as many commission members. Nelson called for the coordination of all civil rights work in one agency, the governor's commission.

Mr. Gibson, who participated in the anti-segregation struggle in Little Rock, Ark., as a minister of a congregation there for four years, noted discrimination here and contrasted the difference between government leaders in Wisconsin and the South.

"The only difference I see here in Wisconsin is that this time the governor is on our side," Mr. Gibson said.

"The mission of the rally was to tell citizens of Wisconsin that discrimination does exist here, especially in housing, Lloyd Barbee said.

Barbee is president of the State Conference of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The rally was called by Barbee, Mr. Gibson, and Assemblyman Isaac Coggs (D-Milwaukee) also to demand that the Legislature act on the housing bills.

"Full freedom remains a myth in the state of Wisconsin," Barbee said, because private interest groups are seeking personal gains.

■ An American Negroes comments on race relations in Denmark

A Negro Reports from Denmark

By Leonard W. Malone

ONE of the most enlightening things that can happen to a Negro, particularly an American Negro, is to spend some time in Scandinavia. All his life an American Negro has learned to live within the scope of a society with a racial problem, one in which he has been the victim. What happens to a Negro living in Denmark where this problem is not present? He has temporarily escaped the many prejudices against him in the United States. In a sense, he has stepped outside history. Perhaps, for the first time in his life, the Negro has breathing space. He can view things with more objectivity—he does not merely react to negative stimuli. He can look at himself, a Negro in a white society, and *his* relation to it —not *its* relation to him.

Attitudes of Danes towards him and Negroes may be very paradoxical. The Danes will pay lip-service to the fact that absolutely no racial discrimination exists in Denmark. They are outraged, justifiably so, at the activities and attitudes of the white southern Americans towards the Negro. They are quite vocal about it and they will approach you on the street cars, in cafés, anywhere to tell you how unnatural and completely ignorant bigotry is. They will ask you your opinions on the matter and really can't understand how any Negro can call America home.

They will then elaborate at length on how contrary this is to the Danish way of thinking and make an honest effort to know and understand you. This behavior will give one the opinion that the Danes have actually provided a haven, a sanctuary for the runaway slave—the last stop in the underground railway. There was an occasion when I was looking for a room and the prospective landlord lowered the original price of the rent as an extra incentive to induce me to take the room. I imagine this noble deed was motivatd by the landlord's cu-

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LEONARD W. MALONE is an American Negro journalist now resident in Copenhagen, Denmark.

riosity and the fact that the Danes seem to feel that thy have to prove how liberal they are towards the Negro. I must admit that I found all this refreshing because I had never experienced such an attempt at liberalism.

These attitudes can serve to cloud the vision, and often *why* is more important than *what*. Nevertheless, I do not want to minimize the value of this type of behavior but I find it paradoxical, which I shall attempt to explain. Denmark is a small country with a population of approximately four million and is not plagued with the problems of different ethnic groups living within its society. Therefore, she can afford to be critical of other areas which do have these problems. There is no threat: there are few Negroes, Jews, Italians, Puerto Ricians, lepers, green-haired people, and other minorities that people have seen fit, from time to time, to proscribe. Everyone is the same—a Dane. As a result there is a great deal of provincialism in Denmark.

To the average Dane there is nothing more foreign, no one more exotic, than the black man. They will stare wide-eyed at you on the streets, touch you, and in general make quite a fuss over you. It's not offensive though, because after being here awhile you know that it is not malicious—it is simply naiveté. When a Dane graciously informs me that there is absolutely no discrimination in Denmark, I raise my beer glass and loudly shout "Sköl" in agreement. I must then disappoint him and tell him that although discrimination is non-existent prejudice is. Even the small, charming country of Denmark suffers from racial prejudice.

Prejudice is the germ, discrimination the disease. If prejudice can incubate under proper conditions, it will grow and eventually cripple the whole body. In Denmark, however, it hasn't reached that stage and never will. Why? Is it because the Dane is unique from other Western whites and possesses a rare, magnanimous mentality? No, it is simply because there is no one really to discriminate against, no social threat, hence no real concern. In order to further illustrate my point permit me to borrow an excerpt from James Joyce's Ulysses.

. . . I just wanted to say, he said, Ireland they say has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the Jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why? He frowned sternly on tthe bright air. Why sir? Stephen asked beginning to smile. Because she never let them in, Mr. Deasy said solemnly.

The prejudice that does exist here is small and innocuous compared to the fear-motivated prejudice that the American or African Negro is accustomed to. The prejudiced Dane is neither motivated by heat nor fear of competition. He is simply naive and unaccustomed to extreme ethnic differences. Hence the feeling or apprehension (a more apt word) that he may have for the Negro is not of the classic *black vs. white* conflict. The Asian, the Oriental, the Greenlandic Eskimo, all may be recipients of the same naiveté. So I say: forgive them sire, they know not what they do; they are merely a provincial people.

There is another type of prejudice

that exists here that is, probably, an outgrowth of the previously stated provincialism. It is prejudice in reverse. In the United States I have heard this manifestation referred to as "Professional liberalism", the-"Some-of-my-best-friends-are-Negroes-" type— of course, with the brotherly slap on the back. Similarly, there's a feeling of forced paternalism that seems to be prevalent towards the Negro throughout Denmark. I have the nagging feeling, that when the Danes permit themselves moments of honesty they say: "I don't really understand Negroes, how can I—I have never really known any . . . and let's face it . . . we are different and since this is something that I have never been exposed to, I'm apprehensive about the whole thing". There is nothing wrong with this attitude; it is perfectly understandable. I imagine the black men in Africa said the same thing years ago when they saw their first white man.

Nevertheless, it is fashionable to be for the Negro—poor soul. I have often heard, "Here in Denmark, we treat you Negroes well, you like Denmark, don't you?" What are they giving me? Can anyone give me the natural pursuits of happiness that other human beings enjoy without the utterance of a single deprecative word or a single depreciable gesture? I think not. This condescension, in itself, says that you are beneath me and I, graciously, am going to give you my hand and pull you up to my level, because I am just a nice guy. In Richard Wright's book, *White Man, Listen!*, he refers to a phrase borrowed from Neitzsche, "frog perspectives". It is a psychological feeling of social distance, the feeling of someone looking from below upward. The professional liberal is on the other end and his saintly motives of liberalism suggest that he is that someone who is above looking downward. I am sure that most Negroes just want to be left alone, to fade into the anonymity of humanity, not the "invisibility" that Ralph Ellison refers to in his monumental novel, *Invisible Man*, but just another human being—a Negro incidentally.

What are the conclusions? Does it mean that white men are the same—the opposition—whether they live in Boston, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, San Francisco, or Copenhagen? Will their attitdues be directed, not by the rationality of a moral consciousness, but by the government under which they happen to live—if you place a Dane in Georgia will he watch the Negro go to the back of the bus while he steps gingerly but silently to the front? No, fortunately not.

The prejudice that does exist here is negligible and can easily be erased, when it arises, because there is no wall of resistance against the Negro. The Dane is, indeed, extremely eager to learn, to climb out of his provincal rut. Their prejudices are not rooted in the hate, fear ignorance, and savage scars of a society that once was part slave. They do not feel guilty! It is a pity that this attitude is not universal rather than localized in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe.

What about the Negroes living in Scandinavia, how have they reacted to all this stimuli? I have talked

with other Negroes living in Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and they all seem to have one thing in common—racial sensitiveness. In spite of the fact that in these countries they are not opposed by formal discrimination, they are, nevertheless, militantly sensitive about race.

It is because, no matter how long they live here, they always have the feeling of being outsiders, intruders, or perhaps even curiosities? This is only one reason; however, there are more important ones. Many Negroes living in Europe suffer from a very subtle guilt complex. An African student explained it to me this way: "After we've been over here awhile, we get very touchy. We become irritated with the Danes or the Swedes because their petty prejudices annoy us, but we have been accustomed to dangerous and hateful prejudice, even physical violence—why should their naive mistakes upset us so? It's because we attach more importance to things than they really deserve in order to give ourselves meaning as Negroes. There is nothing really to fight here and we feel guilty that we are not on the racial battle field.

YOUTH COUNCIL *and college chapters picket segregated stores in Durham, N. C.: from L, Freddie Evans, Beverly Bookout, and Shirley Henderson.*

Book Reviews

STORY OF THE NACGN

***No Time For Prejudice: A Story of the Integration of Negroes in Nursing in the United States.* By Mabel Keaton Staupers, R. N. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. XIII+206pp. $4.95.**

No time for prejudice is the chronological story of the efforts of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, organized in 1908, to present its premises and carry out its program for improving the education, practice, utilization and welfare of the Negro nurse in particular and the functioning of the nursing professional in general. In 1879, sixteen years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the first Negro, Mary Eliza Mahoney, was awarded a diploma in nursing from the New England Hospital for Women and Children School of Nursing in Boston. She died in 1926 after a "life long struggle for the right and the privilege to practice her profession without encountering racial bias."

This book is another reminder of the extent of segregation and discrimination in the United States. Prejudice against the Negro is encountered in almost, if not every, aspect of American life. Not even the normal fear of death aggravated by the lack of nursing care has been sufficiently strong to destroy prejudice or in some cases to deter it against the Negro nurse. What has been accomplished in the last few years of the many years of struggle to abolish prejudice against the Negro nurse has been due much more to the efforts of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses than the conviction of the American people that well-trained Negro nurses should be utilized for the welfare of all American citizens.

Through the years, although the level of national health has been low and nurses have been urgently needed, adequate opportunity has been denied the Negro woman to study nursing or to practice her profession if she succeeded in getting an opportunity to prepare herself. Patterns of segregation regarding training, employment, and the care of patients in hospitals and health agencies were as fixed as if they had been established by law, as they were and are in some areas of the nation. Services in most hospitals, both north and south, were and are segregated. Limited employment when given often was offered in municipal institutions for the care of patients suffering from tuberculosis and communicable diseases. In some cases the voluntary hospitals were and are the

worst offenders; few opportunities existed for private duty. The struggle for integration of Negro nurses in the military services appeared hopeless until the influenza epidemic of 1918 compelled the United States Surgeon General to authorize the use of some Negro nurses, but with segregation in their living quarters and recreational facilities. They served only until the emergency ended. Thus in 1940 the Negro nurse faced the same situation which existed during World War I. Today Negro nurses are serving in the Army, Navy, and the Air Force within the United States and overseas.

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was voted out of existence in 1951 and merged with the American Nurses' Association. When the American Nurses' Association was known as the Nurses' Associated Alumnae there was no color bar. The name was changed in 1911 and the color bar came into existence when the American Nurses' Association was reorganized in 1916. Negro nurses are still excluded from the American Nurses' Association in Georgia except on an individual membership basis. The merger of these organizations does not mean that integration has taken place in every area of nursing education and service but it does mean that desegregation has been started and some progress has been made; that more people are concerned that qualified nurses, regardless of color, should have the opportunity to meet the health and nursing needs of the American people. Still many old customs must be abolished; new relationships and mutual respect must be established and maintained. Much remains to be done in the United States before professional nursing service, unrestricted by considerations of nationality, race, creed, color or sex for all the people, becomes a reality.

This book includes a good bibliography of books, editorials, articles and research studies in or related to nursing. The appendices contain informative and relevant material. The procedures, especially the Intergroup Relations Program, described in the final chapter, written by Mrs. Grace Marr Nugent, might serve as a blue print for desegregation in other organizations.

IRENE DIGGS
Morgan State College

***100 Years of Negro Freedom.* By Arna Bontemps. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1961. XI+276pp. Illustrated. $3.50.**

Mr. Bontemps who, in addition to being librarian, folklorist, poet, and anthologist, is also a novelist of masterful narrative skill has chosen to tell the story of the 100-year struggle of the American Negro for freedom through his outstanding leaders. His book is not only sound history, but his selection of characters and his ability to characterize his men and women give his story the narrative smoothness of a well-written novel. Once you pick up the book you cannot put it down.

Some of his leaders are nationally famous, others local; some are charismatic, others more pedestrian. They range from Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington through William Monroe Trotter and Charles Anderson and Pinckney Pinchback to W. E. B. DuBois and A. Philip Randolph and Walter White. His index reads like a "Who's Who in Colored America." "Needless to say," the author explains, "some of the most conspicuous achievements by Negro Americans in the past century have not been related to the yearnings of the race for the fruits of democracy." Mr. Bontemps feels that Negroes today are leaning more toward heroes than leaders, and he mentions Thurgood Marshall and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., as examples of these folk heroes.

NEGRO IN FRANCE

***The Negro in France.* By Shelby T. McCloy. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1961. IX+278pp. $7.00.**

In his foreword, the author explains the purpose of his book as follows: "This study is to present a history of the Negro who has come to France, the reasons for his coming, the record of his stay, and the reactions of the French to his presence." Since, however, he does not have the scholarship to carry along this subject, *The Negro in France* is very superficial. Although the author has dug up a variety of facts from the archives and the authorities, both real and pseudo, he does not present them in coherent readable form, and his frequent appraisals make explicit his implicit southern racial biases and assumptions.

Here are some of his comments. He places an almost nauseous emphasis on formal education, always stressing the lack of it among most French Negro writers. He explains Negro success in "music, dancing, and acting [as being] partly attributable to early practice." Talent, clothed in a black skin, is apparently unimportant. Lépold-Sédar Senghor's *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache* he ascribes to Professor Charles-André Julien. Prof. Julien is simply editor of the series, "Colonies et Empires,' in which the anthology appears. Nor was the book published "to impress the "French" (p. 183). Then there is his naïve astonishment that American Negroes do little mixing with French colonial Negroes and take no part in French politics. Nor does he offer proof for his allegation that few middle and upper class French women would think of marrying Negroes; nor even mention the symposium on interracial marriage conducted by the French woman's magazine *Eve*, February 20-March 5, 1920, which mirrors a contrary view.

Flatly false statements are numerous. Alioune Diop, founder-editor of *Présence Africaine*, becomes "Allioun" on pages VII, 186, and 275. On page 211 Gaston Monnerville is a native of French Guiana (true); on page 259, of Martinique. Privat d'Anglemont of Guadeloupe on page 165 become "Privat d'Amblemont" of New Orleans on page 166. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia called the Bandung conference, not the Communists (p. 270). He states: "Also in 1956 there was a World Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris, with French Negroes participating." Fact: The meeting was *The First Negro Congress of Writers and Artists* and was called by French-African Negroes. The Pan-African idea originated with the West-Indian lawyer, Henry Sylvester-Williams and the first Pan-African Congress was held in London in 1900. Brazza Savorgnani (1852-1905) is not a "legendary man of the Congo region" (p. 178), but a French explorer limned by René Maran. Paul Niger's (p. 181) real name is Albert Béville. Nor may the late Richard Wright be "called a French writer as well as American" (p. 185). He never wrote in French and the listed *Puissance Noire* is the French version of *Black Power* (1954).

Our author also has a penchant for hearsay and bogus authorities. He says, for instance, that it is "reported" (p. 229) that André Gide took piano lessons from a Negro. Gide himself admits this in *Si le grain ne meurt* (1928) at pages 237-39. The man is Marc de la Nux and he did not teach Gide "jazz" as Mr. McCloy snidely questions.

Martin Turnell, for instance, is an authority on Baudelaire, but the late Mr. Roi Ottley, whom our author quotes, is not. Except the conference numbers, each issue of *Présence Africaine* is not devoted to a single theme. This has not happened since Cahier 16, "Trois Ecrivains Noir." "Never

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were they drafted; it was easy to get volunteers," he writes (p. 192) of French African troops during World War I. He is apparently unaware of the actual coercive French method, which he will find detailed in Jérôme et Jean Tharaud's novel *La randonnée de Samba Diouf* (1922).

A. Whily-Tell (*Je suis un civilisé*, p. 193 f.) is a better authority on Nazi treatment of French Negroes during the German occupation than the *Negro Year Book* (1947). And one might go on.

The Negro in France reads like a chronicle, not a history. Somewhere in the early part of his book our author should have defined what he means by "Negro," since the French distinguish, unlike Americans, between blacks and mixed-bloods.

There are many famous Frenchmen of Negro ancestry who get no mention in *The Negro in France:* Sidonie Gabrielle Colette, Maurice Donnay, Bertrand du Guesclin, Maximilien Liontel, Dr. Sainte-Rose, Charles Cros, Léonce Melkoir, and many others. There is likewise no explanation of current French attitudes toward resident Negroes, whether French or foreign. The racial problems confronting such Negroes are, for example, sympathetically detailed in Frantz Fanon's *Peau noire masques blancs* (1952), and the same author's "Antillais et Africains" (*Esprit*, February 1955, pp. 261-269); A. E. Whily-Tell's *Je suis un civilisé* (1953), and René Maran's *Un homme pareil aux autres* (1947).

The book has no bibliography and its index is inadequate.

J. W. Ivy

The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life. **By Gerhard Lenski. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. XVI+381pp. $5.95.**

What are "the consequences of religious belief and practice in the everyday life of society"? The answers to this question form the core of Dr. Lenski's book. "Unhappily," explains the author in his preface, "many of the findings of this study will prove disturbing to men of every faith—Protestants, Catholics, Jews, humanists, and positivists alike. We all tend to believe, or want to believe, that our own group is superior to other groups in every way. Yet systematic research invariably reveals glaring discrepancies between the idealized image which we form and hard reality."

One of Dr. Lenski's findings is "that religious groups are basically endogamous . . . , with the result that interaction among members of a family normally involves interaction among members of the same religious group." While white Protestants are the least criticized group, they are the most critical of others (Negro Protestant, Catholic, Jewish). "Catholics were consistently more critical of the Jews than of the white Protestants. This difference was especially marked in the area of business practices." Negro Protestants hold a favorable image of Catholics, probably because of the stand of the Catholic hierarchy on integration. Oddly enough, "far more whites were worried about integrated neighborhoods than about integrated *schools*.' While Jews would be the least disturbed about Negroes moving into their neighborhoods, the Catholics would be the most, with white Protestants in between.

There seems little doubt that socio-religious groups are rapidly replacing ethnic groups as the basic units in the system of status groups in American society.

Although *The Religious Factor* is a study of the Detroit area, our author feels that his findings, *mutatis mutandis*, are applicable to other American metropolitan areas.

Crawford

PROTEST RACIAL BIAS IN EMPLOYMENT—*Dr. N. K. Christopher (R) and Dr. Kenneth Clement are shown picketing the Cleveland Trust Bank in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Clement is a life member of the NAACP and chairman of the life membership committee of the Cleveland branch. Dr. Christopher, also an NAACP life member, is a member of the NAACP national board of directors.*